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A HISTORY OF SPANISH PAINTING

VOLUME I

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A HISTORY OF SPANISH PAINTING

BY

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VOLUME I

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PREFACE

When I first conceived the idea of writing the work of which three volumes are herewith published, I intended to produce merely a short History of Spanish Painting, incorporating in it the material of my lectures in a course that I have long given at Harvard; but I soon found that, if the book was to add anything to what had already appeared in print upon the subject, it must be expanded into a more comprehensive treatise. Such scholars as Bertaux and Mayer had written excellent compendiums of the evolution of Spanish painting. Bertaux had been the great pioneer in applying to the field of primitive Spanish art the modern scientific methods of research and interpretation; and among the many merits of Mayer's *Geschichte der spanischen Malerei*, not the least was the thoroughness with which he recorded large numbers of pictorial monuments that had been hitherto unknown to the general world of artistic criticism. On the other hand, a goodly company of investigators had discussed at length, in scattered articles or even books, single examples of Spanish painting or some of the regional schools. These investigators of small subdivisions of the field or of isolated objects were chiefly Spaniards who had a local interest in the archaeology of their respective provinces and had often unearthed important documentary and historical data but who had not always related their discoveries to the course of artistic development in the rest of Europe or even in the other sections of the Iberian peninsula. The moment, therefore, seemed to have come to unite both these phases of research, to make a synthesis of the history of Spanish painting in all its schools and at the same time to treat the individual examples and tendencies in more detail than had been possible to the scope of Bertaux's and Mayer's publications. Such have been my aims, and I have at every point sought also to interpret the progress and specimens of Spanish painting in the light of the orderly evolution of European art in general.

The *raison d'être* of my book is the desire to provide a foundation upon which other students may build. For more than that, or even for so much as that, I cannot hope. Studies in the art of Spain, despite all the hard and keen research inspired by the recent enthusiasm for this country and its achievements, have not advanced far enough to permit anything like a definitive work upon Spanish painting. The archives of documents have been but partially ransacked. The contents of the churches and other collections are as yet far from fully catalogued. Each month brings to light some unknown treasure, and I myself have constantly had the agreeable experience of discovering important and hitherto unnoticed pictures even in quite accessible churches or monasteries. With what a pang have I been forced, for lack of time, as I have travelled in the peninsula, to pass by hundreds of *parroquias* and *ermitas* in which surprises in other shrines had taught me that probably many an unrecorded panel or fresco was hidden! Although a certain number of monographs on single Spanish schools, artists, and monuments already exist, yet a considerable array of personalities and paintings remain entirely uninvestigated. A composer of a general work ought to be able to rely on the results of specialists in the sundry subdivisions of a subject, and his task should be one of coördination and elucidation; but, since I have had myself to do the primal exploration in many phases of the field, it is probable that my conclusions are less reliable and less complete than if I had been able to devote myself with single-hearted concentration to the solution of the particular problems and if I had not labored under the necessity of having constantly in mind the broader outlines of the development. The lack of photographs creates an added drawback. The great and philanthropic photographer of Barcelona, Adolfo Mas, working more often than not for the mere love of the thing and without hope of proper remuneration, has made an extensive archive of the monuments of Catalonia and of the provinces of Salamanca and Cadiz, with scattered reproductions of works in other regions of the peninsula. Enrique Cardona has done much for Valencia, and Juan Mora Insa is now engaged in publishing a notable series of Aragonese photographs. Here and there other less ambitious photographers have made valuable contributions, especially at Barcelona, where, for instance, Serra has splendidly reproduced the Plandiura Collection. The scholar, however, has not yet at his disposal anything that approaches the ample Italian accumulations of Alinari and Anderson. With my own miserable craft I have had to photograph many paintings myself, and other students of Spain, particularly my unfailingly generous friends, Professor A. Kingsley Porter and Dr. C. L. Kuhn, have kindly allowed me to take advantage of their much more expert achievements; but, notwithstanding, in describing works of art, in venturing attributions, and in essaying groupings in schools and tendencies, I have constantly been hampered by the absence of any photographs whatsoever for making comparisons. The inchoate condition of Spanish studies thus conspires with my own deficiencies of every sort to render the book weak even as a foundation. My successors will have to recut more than a few of the stones, and some they will wish to remove altogether in order to substitute others of subsequently proven and more trustworthy solidity. It is scarcely possible that anyone should realize the defects of my book more than I. Again and again through fresh disclosures or my own further examination of a problem I have had to go back and rectify errors, rewrite a passage, or amplify a discussion. In the very nature of things there must still be left many other errors unclarified as yet by research or unperceived by me. But a beginning had to be made. Someone had to write the first detailed history of Spanish painting, and I have had the temerity to attempt it.

Certain related subjects I have consciously excluded. The period prior to the Christian era I have left both to the archaeologists who have concerned themselves with earlier epochs and, in the cave-frescoes, also to the anthropologists. I have not treated the important topic of Spanish illumination except in its influences and in so far as was necessary for the sake of explaining the development of more monumental painting. Some account, however, has been taken of the miniatures by artists who worked also in fresco and in tempera, as, for instance, Nicolás Francés. Sardinian painting from the thirteenth through the sixteenth century was vitally influenced by

Spanish precedent, and during the fifteenth century it really belonged to the Spanish domain; but I have felt at liberty to omit it because, though of Catalan derivation, it lies somewhat apart from the production of the Iberian mainland and because of Georgiana Goddard King's recent and more than adequate book on this school. The pictorial output of Majorca has been included in my survey. I have not thought it worth while to refer to objects that incorporate the crass manufacture of peasant craftsmen, except when they have some such special significance as attaches to the rustic group among the Romanesque frescoes or to certain Franco-Gothic antependia. On the other hand, in the material that I have included, I have endeavored to keep abreast of the most recent criticism. I have paid special attention to specimens in American collections. With but few exceptions, also, I have made a point of visiting and studying on the spot, in Spain and in other countries, each of the many frescoes and panels that I have discussed, for by sad experience I have learned the danger of depending upon photographs, particularly in the case of paintings, in which the color is so decisive a factor. This has meant an amount of travelling in the Iberian peninsula that it is hard for one to estimate who has not, like the investigators of Spanish art, had to overcome the difficulties of reaching the multiple remote hamlets and religious institutions where so many significant examples are enshrined, to spend many more hours in going to a place and in returning from it than the interval that remains on arrival for studying the object of one's visit. The distances, too, are longer than in the other European countries that have important artistic traditions. Not that full compensation is lacking in the unique beauties of the landscapes, the unparalleled picturesqueness of the towns, the patriarchal customs and hospitality of the people; but even the keen pleasures of such often repeated pilgrimages consume time, and the number and length of the journeys set another obstacle in the way of efficient study.

I shall hope to be able in the future to continue the undertaking that is herewith begun and, if possible, to complete it through the production of modern days. The present volumes include the Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque periods, the

Franco-Gothic, Italo-Gothic, and "international" styles, and they carry us to *c.* 1450, a convenient resting point because, broadly speaking, the ramifications of the "international" movement then fade out of sight and the Hispano-Flemish and more mature manners of the second half of the fifteenth century are inaugurated. It may well be that the reader will miss from the present volumes the discussion of certain paintings that he might expect to find here. They will be encountered in subsequent volumes, either because I date them later than has been the wont or because they are attached to the origins of personalities who naturally fall within the second half of the Quattrocento. So, for instance, I disagree with Ricardo del Arco's assignment of the retable over the high altar of the church at Pompién to the beginning of the fifteenth century, and I prefer to consider in connection with Huguet's training the lovely panel of the Epiphany, Crucifixion, and Annunciation, No. 817 of the Museum at Vich, which might as justly have been comprised within the discussion of the pupils of the "international" Master of St. George in volume II.

It had first been my intention to write names of Catalan personages and places in Catalan, and I had followed this practice in my manuscript; but since I found that confusion thus resulted, as when it was necessary to write the Catalan *Miquel* in one line and the Castilian *Miguel* in the next, since it seemed inadvisable to use the Catalan form for towns that are known to the world in the Castilian spelling, such as Tarrasa, and since it would have been inconsistent to employ Catalan for some Catalan artists and places and Castilian for others, I have finally decided to change all the Catalan names into Castilian for the sake of uniformity. Inasmuch as this is a general history, I have reduced the notes at the bottom of the pages to the lowest practicable terms in number and in size. In these notes I have not always thought it incumbent upon me to include all the data in regard to a book or article, because they may be found in the Bibliography prefixed to the first volume. I have added, in appendixes to volumes II and III, a certain amount of further information that I have gathered, while the book was in press, from a summer in Europe and especially from the unparalleled opportunities for the study of mediaeval Spanish art afforded by the great Exposition at Barcelona.

The account of my indebtedness for assistance is so long that, if I were to name each of my creditors, the list would swell to the proportions of a separate index. The Spaniard to whom I owe the most is Don Luis Plandiura of Barcelona, who unites the genius of a great collector to a magnanimous and intelligent patronage of the arts in general. He has given me the most open-handed facilities for the study of his superb collection, the importance of which may be gauged by the frequency of its mention in my book and by its numerous possessions that I have been called upon to discuss even in these volumes that go no farther than the middle of the fifteenth century; and he has munificently provided me with photographs. Many are the Catalan houses or villages to which he, as a name to conjure with, has smoothed my way. But it is not alone this material aid for which I am his debtor, for he has often guided me by his critical acumen and copious information. The other collectors in Spain and elsewhere to whose courtesy I am under obligation are revealed by the index of places; but I am bound to mention especially the kindness of Don José Lázaro and Don José Garnelo of Madrid, Don Román Vicente of Saragossa, and Don Rómulo Bosch of Barcelona. My thanks go out likewise to the directors and secretaries of public museums who have been liberal in their gifts to me of time and instruction, especially to Don Mario Miguel Nadal of the Museum at Saragossa. Nor must I nor can I forget the favors that I have enjoyed at the hands of the Spanish clergy and religious, whether of the cathedrals and great ecclesiastical establishments or of the small parish churches. I have found them deserving of the national reputation for handsome hospitality. In particular, it is with a feeling akin to homesickness that I remember the many pleasant hours on many happy days which I have spent with the parish priests of little villages, so truly the pastors of their flocks, so solicitous for the material welfare and intellectual comfort of the importunate stranger who interrupts the ordered course of their lives and ruthlessly demands that they abandon their duties and take with him arduous tramps to distant *ermitas*, that they open every corner and nook of their churches and reveal to him those facts about them and the treasures therein contained which they have amassed through long years of loving familiarity.

The scholars upon whose knowledge, judgment, and amiability I have most seriously trespassed are Don Elías Tormo of Madrid, Don Joaquín Folch, Don Alejandro Soler, Don Manuel Trens, and Don Adolfo Mas (who is so much more than a photographer), all of Barcelona, Don José Gudiol of Vich, Don Jaime Bofarull of the Diocesan Museum at Tarragona, Don Mariano de Pano of Saragossa, Don Ricardo del Arco of Huesca, Don Luciano Huidobro of Burgos, Don Antonio García Boiza of the University of Salamanca, Don Diego Angulo Iñíguez of Andalusia, Mr. A. Van de Put of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and of my own compatriots, Mr. Bernard Berenson, Professor W. W. S. Cook of New York University, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Byne, and my colleagues Professors J. D. M. Ford (my first master in things Spanish), A. Kingsley Porter, R. B. Merriman, Paul Sachs, and Dr. C. L. Kuhn. Amidst my many liabilities to Don Alejandro Soler, I have mentioned especially in a note at the proper point his generosity in putting into my hands the then unpublished material that he had gathered in regard to Ortoneda. From the list I must further single out for gratitude my friend, Professor Porter, in whom I do not know whether to value more highly the intellect or the heart, to appreciate more truly the countless suggestions that I owe to his enlightened erudition and perception or the untiring good nature with which he has opened to me the treasures of his library, of his vast assemblage of photographs, or of his own mind. Without him, indeed, it will abundantly appear from the frequent acknowledgments that the chapters on the Romanesque could scarcely have been written at all. I have had the effrontery, moreover, to ask our distinguished American expounder of Spanish art and pioneer in its study, Professor Georgiana Goddard King of Bryn Mawr, to read my proofs with me; and it is hardly possible for me to express how much I have benefited by her learned and perspicacious censorship.

My obligations for photographs are recorded under each illustration, but I wish especially to state my recognition of the kindness of the Frick Art Reference Library at New York and of the Spanish Research and Publication Committee of the College Art Association in allowing me to use certain photographs made expressly for them.

C. R. P.

Cambridge, Massachusetts
October, 1929

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

The terms *right* and *left* are used from the standpoint of the spectator unless the contrary is stated.

The word *retable* is used in the sense more frequently expressed in English by the term *reredos*.

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MEDIAEVAL SPANISH PAINTING

ALL generalizations are dangerous affairs, and none are more difficult than those that have to do with racial characteristics and qualities of national aesthetic traditions dependent upon these characteristics. The more intensely the student examines the art of many countries, the more he finds similarities where he had thought there were distinctions, and the more untenable become the generalizations upon indigenous traits in which he had at first indulged himself. Prolonged investigation demonstrates that periods in the life and art of all Europe differ more from one another than the various peoples in the whole history of their artistic evolutions. The chronological and horizontal mode of division is a truer one than the geographical and vertical. At any given period, the art of one country in Europe is like that of another. Peculiarities are as likely to be provoked by the individualities of the several masters as by racial divergence. The greatest Spanish painter of the second half of the fifteenth century, Bermejo, is certainly more different from Fernando Gallego than from the Italian Antonello da Messina. The indigenous note, nevertheless, is usually felt. One of the reasons is that the ethnic physical type of each nation always appears in the art and so strongly impresses the spectator that he believes there are other distinctions and sets out to discover or even imagine them. It cannot be altogether denied that a few such distinctions exist, but generalizations upon the question must be guarded and limited. The art of Spain has seemed to many critics especially marked with indigenous peculiarities, and they have been more than usually free in discerning here the effects of national traits of character. One's own conclusions upon the recurrent qualities of Spanish art, therefore, as well as the statements of others must be subjected to rigid scrutiny. In particular, national traits are less pronounced in Spain of the

Middle Ages, and do not reach their maturity until Spanish civilization attains its apogee in the seventeenth century.

The whole problem is further complicated in the Iberian peninsula because the inhabitants do not constitute a single, homogeneous people. Not only do the aesthetic traits that they exhibit vary from province to province, but it becomes proportionately more difficult to descry qualities enjoyed by all sections of the country in common. The regional divergences are perhaps no greater than those that existed between the schools of Florence, Siena, and Perugia in Italy or between Swabia and northern Germany: in any case the student has constantly and seriously to reckon with them. In the Romanesque period it is scarcely possible to find a source for the stylistic variations from district to district in the characters of the several racial stocks of Spain. Even in the Franco-Gothic and Italo-Gothic manners of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and in the "international movement" [1] of the first half of the fifteenth century, spiritual, in contrast to purely artistic, differences do not yet emerge clearly, except in so far as we get a foretaste of gentle Catalan serenity in the Serra brothers and Borrassá, perhaps a more ethereal delicacy in the pictured saints of Valencia, or an Aragonese dourness in a peculiarly local series of enthroned Virgins. It is only in the last fifty years of the mediaeval style, the second half of the fifteenth century, that the regional separation declares itself patently. The several Spanish schools of painting then form themselves, spiritually, into three groups: the schools of Catalonia and Valencia on the eastern littoral coalescing, under the leadership respectively of Huguet and Jacomart, in a studied placidity; the schools of Castile and Andalusia in the west marked by more boldness and vigor; and the Aragonese school giving expression to the somewhat heavy and almost harsh temperament of the province. The casual observer, coming upon the St. Michael of Bermejo, an artist whose aesthetic affiliations were largely with western Spain, might be struck by its *verve* and proclaim forcefulness as a general trait of Spanish mediaeval art, and his error would be due to his partial vista which had not taken into account the diametrically opposed mildness of Catalonia and Valencia. In the same way, Martín Bernat's Aragonese sternness and acerbity might be mistaken for universal Iberian qualities. These and other similar instances could be used to illustrate the danger of seeking national characteristics without considering sectional differences. The coalition of the whole country under the joint sovereignty of Ferdinand and Isabella at the end of the fifteenth century and the synchronous dawn of the Renaissance meant the beginning of a process that eventually suppressed in part local particularities and led into that more homogeneous style of the seventeenth century in which essentially Spanish qualities achieved their most salient manifestation. Some regional diversities, however, lived on in diminished intensity; but it is the contrary phenomenon that is our present business, the prophecies, in mediaeval art, of the fully evolved national characteristics of the Golden Age. Several of these national characteristics have been admirably analyzed by Mayer in the Introduction to his *Geschichte der spanischen Malerei*.

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[1] See vol. II, pp. 12 and 178 ff.

One of the safest topics upon which to generalize is the Spanish emphasis upon aristocracy, asserting itself both in many aspects of the civilization of the peninsula and in the expression that the Spaniards have given to their characters in their art. It is this trait that has become proverbial in such phrases as the Spanish *hidalgo* and the Spanish grandee; but the Spanish peasant and *bourgeois* also possess a higher innate sense of personal dignity than their fellows in other countries. Manifestations of this national characteristic may be sought almost at random in the course of Spanish history. It reached as far back as the love of personal independence in the old Celtiberian inhabitants of the peninsula. Fostered, in the case of the nobles, by their privileges in the election of the sovereign during the Visigothic period and by the consequent conception of themselves as his peers, this consciousness of individual importance caused and animated the long struggle of the aristocracy against the monarchs of the various kingdoms of the peninsula throughout the Middle Ages; and at the same time it was further augmented by the passions of these wars. The Spanish barons held their heads higher than any others of Europe. When their real power had been crushed by Ferdinand and Isabella, the aristocratic attitude still remained, and we shall have occasion in a later volume to examine what is almost its *reductio ad absurdum* in the institutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Inevitably artists invested their personages with the pride of race and birth upon which their compatriots set such high store. It can fairly be said that the saints of mediaeval Spanish painting often possess a sedate *hauteur* that anticipates the distinction of Velázquez's portraits. The highest expression of the quality before the Renaissance is found in the aristocratic reserve of posture that Hùguet bestows upon his figures and in their courtly elegance of gesture.

When we come to expatiate upon another quality that has been ascribed to the Spanish character, gravity of temperament, we are on less certain ground. Sleepless nights have taught the traveller that the towns of the peninsula are noisy with much animation and merriment; and yet, in the end, it can scarcely be doubted that the Spaniard is more solemn and serious than his brothers of the other Latin nations. In coming from Italy to Spain one feels the difference, and nowhere more than in a comparison of an Italian *festa* with a Spanish *fiesta*. The gay, romping familiarity and ebullition of the Italian holiday are gone, and in their stead are such sober and even forlorn celebrations as the visitor to Madrid will remember in the park of the Buen Retiro — the bands playing softly here and there among the trees at long intervals, the populace of the city merely promenading to and fro in dignified reticence. Even amidst the commotion of the yearly *feria* in smaller towns, as at Pamplona, and even when one takes into account the regional difference of the freer life of Andalusia manifesting itself in the celebrations of the south, there are fewer smiles upon the faces throughout Spain than in Italy, fewer unconscious outbursts of jollity, less of a display of animal spirits. Iberian sobriety is reflected in all periods and in all aspects of civilization. The Spaniards walled up the spaces of the Gothic openings in their churches and made the sacred edifices dark and mysterious, not only because the light brought with it heat but also because they liked the sombre interiors. Nor is it without significance that men and especially women prefer in Spain to deck themselves in black. Here and there in other parts of the world, as in the shawls worn at Venice, black is seen in costumes with enough frequency to constitute a local peculiarity; but in Spain the ladies' *mantillas* as well as many other phases of dress make it a more universal phenomenon. Inevitably, then, the figures in Spanish painting, particularly in portraiture, are as staid and solemn as in a typical example at Fenway Court, Boston, Zurbarán's effigy of a student of Salamanca; but this Spanish gravity is distinguished from Flemish and Dutch stolidity by the other ingredient of aristocracy. In general, Spanish art has little of that joy and exuberance that are so contagious in Italian painting and sculpture. The Spanish attitude affects even the color. The cultivation of grey and, in general, of neutralized tonalities by Velázquez and Goya is due quite as much to the gravity of the Spanish temperament as to the desire for an aristocratic frigidity and aloofness. Or, when Spanish painters do not resort to neutralization, they are likely to seek effects of color that are rich rather than bright. As is the case with so many other elements of Spanish art, the most tangible aspects of this quality pervade the production of the seventeenth century, but we catch glimmers of it in earlier epochs. Although mediaeval Spanish painting reproduces in general the tonalities of the successive foreign schools that were its models, yet occasionally it modifies these lessons in the direction of the national ideals in color. The Navarrese panels of the fourteenth century, for instance, deepen and enrich the jewel-like lustre of the Franco-Gothic manner. The delicate lightness of Siena is mellowed in Pedro Serra. The gay hues of the international movement are sometimes sobered in its Aragonese interpretations. Fernando Gallego softens the brilliancy of the school of Tournai and of Dierick Bouts into harmonies of blue, grey, and green. I dislike the word "luscious," but I know of no other term that gives so exactly just the connotation of that controlled richness of color and of tonal juxtapositions which we not infrequently encounter at its most delightful in Spanish painting, whether we are standing before a panel of Bermejo or a canvas of El Greco. At first thought the notable predilection of mediaeval Spaniards for striking brocades and gold backgrounds might seem to violate national sobriety; but the tones of the brocades are seldom vivid, and the actual effect upon the eye, both of the gold and of the large-figured fabrics, is one of sumptuousness rather than of gaudiness. Huguet, who in many respects is a true Spaniard, is nowhere more essentially so than in the brocades with which he loves to build up the masses of his compositions. Their patterns are bold and conspicuous and yet drawn with such delicacy and refinement that the ultimate impression is a tempered magnificence.

The blithe Italian attitude towards life brought with it a joy in the beauty of nature, whether embodied in the comeliness of the human form or manifested in the picturesqueness of landscape. The works of Giorgione, especially when they contain nudes, constitute the most exalted expression of this delight in the world about us and in its most favored inhabitants. For such delight we shall seek in vain in the painting of Spain. Its masters do not often reveal a feeling for beauty of person. The nude was rarely depicted until Velázquez acquired a passing taste for it through his first visit to Italy. Certain recurrent themes, such as Adam and Eve, demanded the nude, but even then the Spaniards seldom exhibited an interest in the undraped body for itself and treated it in a perfunctory fashion without regard for its anatomical exactitudes or for its aesthetic possibilities. Until the end of the fourteenth century the other Europeans were not in advance of them in this respect, except for such sporadic efforts as those embodied in the sculptured scenes from Genesis on the façade of Orvieto. The early emergence of the Renaissance in Italy at the beginning of the fifteenth century and the contemporaneous development of realistic and scientific studies in the art of Flanders involved some experimentation with the nude, but Spain still remained impervious to the intellectual impulses that were quickening the sister peninsula and Belgium. In a few isolated instances we shall find Spanish masters of the Middle Ages toying halfheartedly on their own initiative with the problems of anatomy, but even so charming an artist as Borrassá becomes contemptible when he is called upon to paint the body of the Crucified. The technical alertness of the foreigner, Dello Delli, in his drawing of the undraped form only shames by contrast the native painters among whom he was working. When in the second half of the fifteenth century the masters of western

Spain were enthusiastically imitating the Flemings, they seldom carried their zeal to the point of emulating the anatomical investigations. Mayer has aptly pointed out that in Spain St. Sebastian is ordinarily represented as a fully dressed knight, since the Spaniards were not prone, like the Italians, to seize upon this opportunity for the nude. Besides the sombre outlook on life, other reasons, of course, operated to exclude the unclad body from the Spanish repertoire, for instance the Puritanical cast that is so characteristic of the Catholicism of the country.

Velázquez had to go to Italy, also, to be stimulated to an interest in landscape and to transmit it to his son-in-law, Mazo; but neither before nor after them have the Spaniards concerned themselves much with this aspect of painting. The situation was very much the same as for the nude. Until the end of the fourteenth century it is only in odd instances that we get anywhere in European painting a real and separate interest in the settings to the figures, as in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco of the results of Good Government in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. In the fifteenth century another factor joined forces with the grave disdain for the beauties of nature to prevent the Spaniards from sharing with the Italians and Flemings the new admiration for landscape, and that factor was the continuing and inordinate devotion to gold backgrounds. In the rest of Europe such backgrounds were still frequent enough during the fifteenth century, but, especially in Italy and Belgium, landscapes of great loveliness were very commonly substituted. In Spain the skies were regularly of gold, but beneath these gilded expanses we often see charming little vistas of town and country which tantalize us by suggesting what the Spaniards might have achieved in this respect if their characters and surroundings had so decreed. The heavy gold skies, nevertheless, tended, so to speak, to weigh down upon such abortive attempts, to crush the bits of landscape into very reduced compass, or to eliminate them altogether. The delight of the international movement in landscape, however petty and piecemeal the results, might have been expected to be reflected in the Spanish adaptations of the style during the first half of the fifteenth century, but here too the oppression of the gilded heavens was almost always fatal. The Catalan internationalist, the Master of St. George, and one or two of his followers and contemporaries were closely enough affiliated with the purer forms of the movement to dare to retain the blue of the azure and to dwell with pleasure upon the underlying hills, valleys, and castles. Dello Delli, even though he employed the golden skies, displayed to the Spaniards reminiscences of the more exalted Italian interpretations of "international" landscape and of the careful study that Masolino, Fra Angelico, and other Florentine masters were dedicating to natural settings. In western Spain during the second half of the fifteenth century the Flemish precedents in landscape were seldom more than lamely and listlessly imitated; in eastern Spain, where the northern models enjoyed much less vogue, this period not only wrought no change but in Catalonia even accentuated the taste for gold backgrounds, rendering them now more prominent by more ostentatious diapering and by ponderous embossings. The occasional attractive vistas that Huguet managed to insert beneath the gold skies betrays how potent the opulent Catalan taste was in stifling inborn gifts and propensities in this direction. The development of landscape painting was forestalled also by other conditions. In Aragon and Castile one of them was the very character of the landscape, in large part too bleak, barren, and monotonous, with its unending stretches of unwooded hills and red soil, to arouse the enthusiasm, or be within the powers, of anyone but that rare artist who himself possessed a rugged, weird, and titanic spirit. It is true that the rigors of the landscape of the central Iberian plateau, its impressive lines undimmed by interrupting trees, and the almost prehistoric effects of its eminences and chasms combine in grandiose prospects the appeal of which constantly grows upon the frequent visitor until he would refuse to exchange them for any other natural panoramas in the world; but the qualities are not such as to entice or encourage the ordinary painter. To produce great schools of landscape painting, it has required the picturesque slopes and verdant undulations of Tuscany and Umbria, the light forests and smiling valleys of France, the fertile fields and proximity to the sea in Belgium and Holland, the deep green of English sward and foliage. Even when a modern Spaniard, Sorolla, turns to landscape, it is rather the sea and its strands that he depicts.

It cannot be seriously denied that Spanish gravity sometimes degenerates into melancholia, declaring itself not infrequently in a taste for the gruesome. The ferocity of Peter the Cruel in the fourteenth century, the atrocities perpetrated by the governors and troops of Philip II in the Low Countries, and the extreme severity of the Inquisition are familiar historical illustrations. The stock example in modern life is the persistent popularity of the bull-fight, against which much thoughtless and silly criticism is launched by foreigners but which remains, when all the just extenuations for it have been granted, a brutal and bloody spectacle. The apologist for Spain could doubtless duplicate the historical horrors in the annals of other European countries, and over against the bull-fight he can set fox-hunting and grouse and pheasant shooting. With my own deep and reverent love for the Spaniards, I should be the last to accuse them of defects of which they are not guilty. If, however, it cannot be fairly argued that they have put cruelty into practice to a greater degree than other nations, it must still be honestly admitted that their gravity occasionally betrays its darker side of a morbid gloom and that they have liked to see sinister themes represented in their art. Beginning with the seventeenth century, one could multiply instances in Spanish painting almost *ad infinitum*. The baroque in general was addicted to the concrete, but the baroque painters of no other country took such exquisite delight as did Ribera in elaborating and dwelling upon revolting details of martyrdoms. Goya's series of etchings called the "Disasters of the (Peninsular) War" embody with even more shocking definiteness the sufferings of patriotic rather than religious martyrs; and the whole tone of Goya's mind is very Spanish in its melancholy and pessimism. The Museum of Modern Art at Madrid is itself an illustration of this indigenous trait: the canvases by the school of historical painting in the nineteenth century, of which it so largely consists, depict, in major part, famous scenes from the hospitals, the famines, the deathbeds, the executions, the martyrdoms, the murders, the carnage, and the charnel-houses of the past. The chief of the historical painters, Pradilla, has combined the interest of insanity with that of death in his picture of Joanna the Mad beside the coffin of her husband, Philip the Fair. The question again arises whether the appetite for the gruesome may be discerned already in the art of the Middle Ages before the Spaniards had attained their typical expression in the Golden Age. All mediaeval painting, especially the unblinking directness of Flanders, made the tortures of saints sanguinary enough. In the subsequent pages a plenitude of Spanish examples will be noted, stretching back even into the Romanesque period and including all sections of the country; and I suspect that, if anyone wished to carry the modern mania for statistics into this field, he would discover that the count, both in number and excruciating literalness, would somewhat weigh down the balance to the rather uncanny advantage of the Iberian peninsula. Even the gentle Huguet, however tranquil the actual postures of his personages, inundates the martyrdom of Sts. Abdon and Sennen with gore and spares us no appalling detail, and his flaying of St. Bartholomew apparently served as an exact model for Ribera's well-known print of the theme.

If there is danger of exaggerating the tendency to the sombre, caution is even more necessary in making categorical assertions about a third characteristic that has impressed students of Spanish civilization, a uniquely intense devotion to Catholicism, and especially in attributing the quality to mediaeval Spain. The most valid evidence is provided by the periods of the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation — the great circle of Spanish mystics, Fray Luis de León, St. Theresa, St. John of the Cross, and St. Ignatius Loyola, the activity of the Inquisition, the rigor and perfect system of which were inspired to a much greater degree by religious conviction than by an indulgence of inhuman instincts, the persistence of sacred drama and its culmination in the *autos sacramentales* or symbolic plays on the Eucharist by Calderón, the stifling of Protestantism, and the fostering of the Jesuits. Similar manifestations of religious ardor may be discovered in other countries, but no other nation probably can marshal so imposing a series of exemplifications as is revealed by the whole history and culture of Spain. The general atmosphere of modern Spanish life confirms the opinion that the inhabitants of the peninsula are profoundly pious. Spain is today one of the most faithful daughters of the Latin church, and her temples are thronged with crowds of devout worshippers. Nevertheless the piety is not in all instances clearly reflected in the art even of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is usually stated that the paintings of the Catholic Reaction in Spain were more numerous and more emotionally ecstatic than those of other nations. The witness of Morales, El Greco, Ribera, Murillo, Valdés Leal, and a host of lesser luminaries is probably sufficient to substantiate such statements; yet so essentially a Spanish painter as Zurbarán has a piety that is too elephantine to be exalted, and the greatest of them all, Velázquez, far from exhibiting any fervor, is almost totally destitute of religious sensibility. Human beings are never embodiments of a single characteristic, and in certain cases other indigenous traits obtained the upper hand and inhibited the outbursts of pious excitement. The poignancy of Spanish piety was always in conflict with the restrained dignity of the national temper, and as a matter of fact, in Spanish sculpture of the seventeenth century as distinguished from the baroque of the rest of Europe, it expressed itself in an inner intensity rather than in passionate gesticulation. It was this gravity as well as two other traits innate in the Spanish artistic constitution, naturalism and realism, that sobered the display of Catholic feeling in Zurbarán and Velázquez. In the case of others among their rivals and predecessors, Christian ardor got the better of indigenous poise. The baroque sculpture and painting of Italy, however, are also rapturous, and one could, after all, put up a good argument for Italian primacy in this respect. We are again confronted, moreover, with the difficulty of reading this characteristic of the Spanish Catholic Reaction back into the Middle Ages, which were everywhere a period of religious earnestness. The history of the peninsula, to say the least, affords as many and as downright examples as other countries. The darker side appears as early as the fourth century in the inquisitorial methods by which the heresy of Priscillian was eradicated. There can be no just quarrel with the scholar who wishes to consider the *Reconquista* (reconquest of the peninsula from the Moors) as a manifestation of the brighter side of Catholic enthusiasm. It is quite as illogical to follow your modern scientific historian and look upon the phenomenon as wholly produced by material causes, by the desire for territorial aggrandizement rather than for the advance of the Cross, by the lack of concord among the infidels rather than by any unifying ideal of the Christians. The truth probably lies between the two extremes of opinion. The gradual recovery of the whole country by what was at first a mere band of refugees in the Asturian mountains, the eight centuries of hard fighting in what was virtually one long crusade, the retrieving of losses, the surmounting of dissensions between the Christian powers themselves, the little gains, the great campaigns and victories — these are certainly among the most astounding facts in the world's annals. There will be an attempt in the ensuing chapters to single out a certain number of mediaeval paintings in which the religious expression is more than ordinarily intense or fervid and may be labelled as Spanish; but they can be convincingly matched by examples in Umbria and in Germany, the pious hearts of which, at least until the end of the fifteenth century, beat quite as zealously. Secular themes are certainly much rarer than in Italy, where the glorification of the city-state and of abstract ideals of government was joined to the stimulus of private life to augment the repertoire of art. The chivalric cycle in the Aragonese castle of Alcañiz, however, demonstrates that profane matter was not wholly eschewed in Spain; it also won a sphere for itself in the polychrome embellishment of ceilings. The postponement of the Renaissance until the sixteenth century naturally excluded mythological subjects from the realm of Spanish art of the fifteenth century, although the aristocrats were not loath to adorn their palaces with Flemish tapestries of classical content. Indeed, even when the Renaissance did finally arrive, it altered but slightly the firmly imbedded pious tradition of the peninsula and seldom added a Greek or Roman tale to the cycles of sacred story.

Another racial proclivity that affected particularly architecture, the love of opulence and magnificence, had a few minor reverberations in painting. Perhaps it owed its existence partly to contact with the luxuriant civilization of the Moors. To this tendency might be traced the retention of gold backgrounds in the fifteenth century, when the rest of Europe was largely abandoning them for settings of landscape, and the predilection, even beyond the standard of other mediaeval schools, for depicting rich brocades of ostentatious design. The very position of pictures in the churches was likewise influenced, for eventually they found their principal place in the huge retables that were lavishly built up over the altars. By the beginning of the fifteenth century it had thus become the custom to consign sacred narrative to the compartments of a retable rather than, as in Italy, to frescoes on the wall. The broad statement may be vouchsafed that mural painting was much less popular in Spain than in Italy, but the assertion must be hedged about with many limitations. The Romanesque period in Spain has quite as many cycles of frescoes to exhibit, and the early Gothic epoch of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries remained fairly prolific in the output of this kind of art. In Aragon, particularly, mural paintings in the Franco-Gothic style are numerous, and the archaeological research of each year adds to the very considerable number already known throughout the rest of the peninsula. So far as the technical method has been at all investigated, it will be shown in a later chapter that at least the majority of the Romanesque examples were executed in *fresco secco* upon a foundation in the more honest and durable *buon fresco;* but from the standpoint of the spectator and of the general aesthetic bearing of the question, the process is of no significance, and the fact remains that until the end of the fourteenth century mural painting was a regular mode of ecclesiastical decoration in Spain. Nor can it be held that this early practice of fresco was a foreign accretion upon native soil. When in the fourteenth century the Italo-Gothic master, Ferrer Bassa, did a mural cycle at Pedralbes, near Barcelona, he may have had in mind not only Italian forms but the Italian devotion to the adornment of walls; but there is no just cause for supposing that the many Romanesque examples and the many examples in the Franco-Gothic manner contemporary with Ferrer Bassa were not the expression, in method, of a long-established indigenous tradition that may be traced back to the Pre-Romanesque period. In the fourteenth century, nevertheless, the retable had already begun to increase in size and to intrude upon the domain of the wall as a setting for the sacred stories, and in the fifteenth century it almost completely won the victory. Here and there in Spain a few isolated mural paintings of the fifteenth century are to be seen, especially some rustic examples in remote and retrogressive Galicia, but they are negligible in comparison to the triumph of fresco at this time as the national art of Italy. We shall subsequently have occasion to see how other reasons, such as the architecture of the churches, coöperated with the opulent passion for magnificent retables to banish mural embellishment. Once lost in the fourteenth century, fresco never again really became an indigenous art in the peninsula. After the fifteenth century, with such sporadic exceptions as Goya, mural paintings were attempted chiefly by Italians working in Spain or by their servile imitators of native birth, and even these foreign importations are comparatively rare phenomena.

Beyond the possible and rather intangible reflection of Moorish prodigality in the gorgeous temper of Spanish mediaeval retables, the proximity of a Mohammedan civilization had in painting nothing that approaches the significant influence that it exercised upon architecture. It often supplied decorative *motifs* on the borders and within the pictures themselves during the Romanesque period and even at later epochs, as in the Piedra reliquary of the fourteenth century. Such elements impart a peculiar and essentially Spanish note to the panels and frescoes, but it is an adventitious note that does not affect the fundamental character of the style. Perhaps the Spanish master, in spreading a soberly rich harmony of color over his surfaces, is sometimes thinking in terms of an oriental rug. A quite subsidiary result of the political situation was the introduction of Moors among the groups of spectators in a sacred scene or the representation of evil personages, such as the persecutors of saints, in the guise of the infidels.

Of other aesthetic qualities not so directly dependent upon racial characteristics, naturalism is the one most frequently ascribed to Spanish art. Before the correctness of this opinion can be tested, it is necessary to endeavor to arrive at an understanding of the vague word, naturalism. It is ordinarily employed by critics of art as synonymous with realism, and even the best dictionaries are likely to acquiesce in this usage. For the purposes of the present book a distinction is advisable in the interests of clarity. In making such a distinction I do not claim to be establishing definitions that will be valid for other students, nor am I concerned with maintaining the distinction against objections. The intention is merely to make a perfectly arbitrary differentiation of naturalism and realism for the sake of present exigencies. I have not reached my conclusion, however, without a careful analysis of the ideas conveyed to my own mind by the words and, so far as possible, of the connotations attached to them, consciously or unconsciously, by the majority of discriminating writers. Naturalism seems to imply to most of us a treatment of subjects from every-day life or a treatment of loftier subjects in the terms of every-day life; realism is concerned with reproducing an object or objects faithfully. Naturalism relates itself more to the theme, realism to the mode of executing the theme. Not only does the naturalistic painter prefer subjects from the usual experiences of our existence, but, when he is called upon to represent sacred and historical personages, he makes them perform their parts with the natural postures and gestures of ordinary human beings. The characters of the New Testament he will clothe in the costumes and ensconce in the settings of his own day. He will even multiply domestic and urban paraphernalia in order to increase the sense of the actual. Naturalism has to do with the feeling of the whole composition; realism with the accurate rendering of individual figures and things. When Velázquez paints portraits of the king and court, he would not be naturalistic; but depicting them with the verity that he applies to these aristocratic sitters, he would be realistic. When he paints religious or mythological scenes as if they were episodes from the life that he knew, he would be naturalistic; and, since he studies his personages and things closely from nature, he is also here realistic. Your realistic artist, because of his primary interest in the verities of nature, is usually led to deal with homely themes or to depict themes in a homely fashion, and therefore becomes also a naturalist; but Goya has demonstrated that one can be a naturalist by representing subjects from the manifold life of Spain without approximating the actual objects so closely as to become, in any very pronounced sense, a realist. Idealism is commonly used indiscriminately as the opposite of both terms. When it has to do with the representation of elevated material in a visionary manner, it is the opposite of naturalism; when it has to do with the ennoblement of actuality, it is the opposite of realism. In thus seeking to limit realism for the purposes of this book, no effort has been made to take into account such esoteric and, if you will, possible definitions as an application of the term to works of art that render the essence, though not necessarily, the outward semblance of the thing.

During the seventeenth century the painting of Spain was unquestionably more naturalistic than that of any other country in Europe, except perhaps Holland; and naturalism has continued to be a characteristic strain in Spanish painting with Goya and down to the present day. For exemplification, the memory can choose almost at will from the plenitude of instances — the squalid philosophers whom Ribera and Velázquez or their patrons selected from antiquity for representation because they could be depicted as members of the lower strata of society; the tattered street-musicians that are variously ascribed to Zurbarán and Francisco Herrera the Elder; the scenes from the popular life of Seville that mark the early period of Velázquez; his inability, throughout his life, in religious and mythological scenes, to rise above the level of prosaic actuality; the evidence in Ribera's martyrdoms and punishments in Hades that he had frequented scenes of torture and executions for the purposes of study; the matter-of-fact tone of Zurbarán's whole output; Murillo's gamins of the streets and the general practical treatment of sacred themes that distinguishes his first period from his second; Goya's use, for designs of tapestry and for easel-pictures, of the abundant and interesting *genre* of Spain; the persistence of the same subjects in Zuloaga; Fortuny's meticulous rendering of the picturesqueness of north Africa; or Sorolla's impressions of the coasts and beaches of his native land. It was the naturalistic as well as the pious trend of Spain that, even in the Renaissance, well-nigh excluded mythological themes or those fanciful themes drawn from literature which have been so common elsewhere since the days of Botticelli. The curious thing is that the desire for naturalistic representation should have existed side by side with aristocratic pretensions. Realism is a different matter, but it was apparently more characteristic of Spain in the seventeenth century than of other nations. Among the witnesses are the portraits of Velázquez, Zurbarán's general faithfulness to the model, even in the draperies, and the almost photographic rendering of the nude parts of the body by Ribera. Zuloaga continues the tradition in modern times in his figure-painting, although he conventionalizes his backgrounds.

The predominant concern of Spaniards of the seventeenth century with naturalism can be traced back to the Middle Ages with even less surety than the other qualities that have been analyzed. Mediaeval Spanish painting was naturalistic, and we shall have occasion to dwell upon many instances of a trend in this direction; but these are only the germs of a characteristic that did not unfold until a later epoch into a more pronounced manifestation than appears in other national schools. On the basis of the definitions that have been made, it cannot convincingly be maintained that Spanish art of the Middle Ages was uniquely naturalistic. The isolated examples in the Romanesque painting of the peninsula are not enough to demonstrate a greater naturalistic propensity and are merely prophetic of future developments. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the truth is that painting throughout Europe was naturalistic, and one of the determinative traits of the international movement is a revelling in *genre*. The production of all countries was so nearly equal in this respect that (as in the case of the taste for the sanguinary), in order to determine the question of precedence, a doctor's dissertation would be required in which the number of instances to the credit of each nation and the comparative intensity of every instance would have to be computed. Spain would probably not come off better than Flanders or even Italy. The Catalan artists of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, particularly the workshop of the Serras, perhaps transmuted the legends of saints into the terms of the life of their own day more exactly and more delightfully than their Italian contemporaries. When, however, as in Huguet's panels of visits to the thaumaturgic shrines of saints, the members of the proletariat, mendicants, or even cripples are introduced into Spanish mediaeval panels, it is quite as much the character of the theme as any naturalistic tendency that occasions the representation of the humbler and less agreeable phases of existence.

The position of mediaeval Spanish realism is easier to ascertain. Faithfulness to the actual model is always more evident than in Italy, whose artists usually retained instinctively a certain degree of idealization; but there is little in Spain of the fifteenth century to set beside the astounding veracity of the Flemings, of Jan van Eyck and of the school of Tournai. When realism appears in Hispano-Flemish painting, it is often a somewhat weaker imitation of the originals of the Low Countries. In Catalonia, however, during the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, there was one aspect of painting in which was incorporated a very pronounced realism, namely the scrupulous rendering of the face and its expression. Before the days of the Flemish influence, the tendency appears as early as Pedro Serra. It culminates with Huguet, in whom the long-established local tradition of a concentration of realistic effort upon the heads may have been slightly accentuated by his never very vital study of Flemish precedents. The curious thing is that the accurate treatment and psychological analysis of the countenance should frequently have been combined with the utmost formality in the composition of the panel in which the head or heads are set. The casting of the composition into a rigid and often symmetrical pattern is quite as much a constant of Spanish mediaeval art as any of the qualities that have been discussed in these paragraphs. Possibly it was another trait provoked by familiarity with the pure design of Moorish decoration. The union of realism of detail with a highly conventionalized general design is indeed one of the most distinctive marks of mediaeval painting in all provinces of the peninsula. With the aping of Flemish realism in the second half of the fifteenth century the strange fusion becomes particularly apparent, receiving its highest aesthetic expression in such works of Bermejo as the Sto. Domingo de Silos of the Prado and the veronica of the Museum at Vich.

In debating the question of another feature that has been attributed to Spanish art, a more than ordinary susceptibility to foreign influences, it is again necessary to make distinctions, especially of a chronological nature. Throughout the history of European art, the interplay of influences between country and country has been very general, and the differences of degree are slight. Architecture and sculpture are separate considerations, and we need to concern ourselves only with painting. Because scholarship has not yet arrived and perhaps can never arrive at definitive conclusions in regard to the origins of the Romanesque style in the respective countries, the eleventh and twelfth centuries present a knotty problem. The relationship of Romanesque Spain to other nations, especially France and Italy, will be a topic for investigation in a subsequent chapter, but the precise extent of the debt remains to be determined. Nor do we yet know how many and how potent foreign strains were kneaded into the manners of Romanesque painting in France and Italy, but the probability is that at least in these two parts of Europe the styles were more fundamentally original than in Spain. No one would claim for the Gothic painting of Spain the comparative creative independence of the schools of Italy and Flanders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but, on the other hand, it was no more derivative than the production of France or even Germany. The prototypes that supplanted in Spain the moribund Romanesque fashions at the end of the thirteenth century and persisted through a part of the fourteenth were Franco-Gothic. But before 1350 the Italo-Gothic models of Florence and, as throughout Europe, particularly of Siena began to gain the upper hand in the peninsula and reached the zenith of their triumph in the second half of the century. At the first of the fifteenth century, Spain adopted the "international" style of painting; but it imposed less originality upon this general European manner than did such masters as Pisanello, Masolino, or Gentile da Fabriano in Italy. Castile was even satisfied, to a certain degree, with absorbing, partly through the visit of Dello Delli, the form that Gentile and the Venetians had given to the international style. During the second half of the fifteenth century, the schools of the western section of the peninsula, of Castile and Andalusia, became little more than offshoots of Flemish painting with perhaps less indigenous impress than the schools of France and Germany, which were derived from the same stock. The eastern section of Spain, however, including the domains of Catalonia and Valencia, was under much less obligation to Belgium, and at this time developed, from the earlier implanted Sienese and international seed, with slight Flemish fertilization, styles almost, if not quite, as original as those of Italy or the Low Countries. The culminating figure among the Spanish primitives, Bermejo, despite the conglomeration of influences, Andalusian, Aragonese, Flemish, and Italian, under which his ever varying manner was formed, likewise succeeded in being completely distinctive.

The painting of the Renaissance proper, the sixteenth century, was, broadly speaking, a poor thing in Spain. All of Europe was now dominated by Italy; but in Spain the imitation of the Italian mannerists or of their Flemish followers was unusually weak and slavish. The excellence of portraiture, which in any case proceeded no further than the lessons that it had learned from the master of the Low Countries, Antonio Moro, the religious transports of Morales, the wayward independence eventually evolved by El Greco, who, indeed, belongs in part to the next century — these phenomena do not constitute sufficiently great or abundant exceptions to exonerate Spain at this time from the charge of excessive susceptibility to extraneous artistic movements. When, however, the art of the seventeenth century was once in full swing, with the general reassertion of indigenous tendencies the situation was changed, and Spain betrayed no more pronounced bondage to foreign suggestions than other nations. It is true that the parentage of Spanish painting of this period is to be sought in Caravaggio and the Italian baroque; but the inheritance was only a very slight element, and environment made the mature product into something highly national and idiomatic. To realize how small was the indebtedness to Italy, it is necessary to mention only the greatest names, Velázquez, Zurbarán, and Murillo; even in Ribera, who lived in Naples, the ethnic foundation transcended the Italian environment. The political and artistic impotence of the eighteenth century again threw the gates open to as servile a reliance upon foreign achievement as in the Renaissance.

The new dynasty of the Bourbons enthroned the fashions of the French rococo, but the popular prototypes in painting were those of the Italian baroque. At the end of the century, Goya, who, so far as it has ever been true of an artist, created his own style, reëstablished the independence of Spain, and really turned the tables by himself exercising a tremendous influence upon the development of modern French painting. The schools of all the European countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have bowed to the leadership of the Parisian ateliers; Spain is probably less indebted than the others. For the greater part of the nineteenth century the Spanish field was occupied by a dull succession of painters of history and *genre*, loosely related to Meissonier and Gérôme. Sorolla, despite his originality, could not have evolved his style apart from French impressionism; but with Zuloaga, the two Zubiaurre brothers, Anglada, and the majority of the present generation, the output has become more decidedly national.

A review of the situation, therefore, would indicate that Italy and Flanders alone have shown themselves less responsive to foreign influences than Spain, and even so, only at certain periods of their artistic history. In the Gothic period, when the painting of the peninsula was considerably beholden to other countries, and in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, when the debt was still more extensive, the native soil was nevertheless able to instill enough of its own qualities into the imported seed to make the result unmistakably Spanish. In the Golden Age, the art of no other nation of Europe was more peculiarly indigenous. A convincing proof of the power of the native atmosphere is found in the rapidity with which certain foreign masters active in the peninsula, such as Juan Flamenco in the Middle Ages (if he be the author of the six panels from the life of the Baptist in the Prado) or El Greco in the Renaissance, became thoroughly Hispanicized; but the exceptions, for example Dello Delli, are too many to admit the phenomenon as the rule.

If generalizations in regard to racial traits have emerged in these paragraphs as dangerous, comparisons of the degrees of artistic attainment in the various countries are odious. It is happily not necessary at present to embroil ourselves in the question whether Spain in its great age, the seventeenth century, can claim equality with the rival schools or even a preeminence. Nor in mediaeval painting is there any advantage to be gained from initiating a dispute upon the respective rights of France, Germany, or Spain to an acknowledged superiority of merit. In such a dispute one could argue with much plausibility on the side of any one of the three nations; but it is better to maintain a footing on ground where no debate is possible and candidly to concede that the painting of Spain in the Middle Ages, viewed as a whole from the beginning to the end, exhibits no such impressive expanse of achievement as the Italian or Flemish schools. In the very nature of things no one could be more concerned than the present writer to demand for mediaeval Spain all the prerogatives that should accrue to it. Certainly no one loves more the peculiar beauties of its pictorial idiom, takes keener pleasure in dwelling upon and analyzing them, or is readier to prefer them, because of affectionate familiarity, to the greater artistic language of Italy and Flanders. But when one reflects upon the long array of supreme Italian masters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who have become household words and upon the conscious Italian study and conquest of the various aspects of technique, backed by a higher intellectual content especially in the Quattrocento, when one stops to recall the delight that he has experienced as he stood before a Flemish picture, pondering its unrivalled manipulation of exquisitely applied color, its vigor of draughtsmanship, its power in the presentation of forms and personalities, and its precocious solution of the rendering of space and of other problems, it would be madness to elevate Spain to an equal position. There is no Spanish painter of the primitive period, except perhaps Bermejo, who can be set beside such names as Giotto, Simone Martini, Masaccio, Fra Angelico, Botticelli, Mantegna, Gian Bellini, Jan van Eyck, Roger van der Weyden, or Memling. Whether the Spaniards imitated the Italian, the international, or the Flemish style, there is almost always just a touch of provincialism about their adaptations. The drawing of Jaime and Pedro Serra falls short of that of their Sienese models, the Master of St. George never quite learns how to organize the pretty details of the international movement into a consistent unity, Fernando Gallego misses the fine precision of Dierick Bouts and wields a less delicate brush. The Spaniards, however, are often quite the peers of the secondary Italians and Flemings, of men like Agnolo Gaddi, Benozzo, or Pintoricchio, and such confrontations are enough to entitle them to more serious consideration and to a wider and more understanding popularity than they have as yet enjoyed. Even in unexpected corners Spain presents us with frequent surprises. Concealed in many a little rural shrine, such as the parish church at Púbol that houses a lovely retable of the international style, or hidden among more celebrated pieces on many a wall in private galleries, as when we chance upon the superb Valencian Madonna in the Walters Collection at Baltimore, we shall meet with true masterpieces distinguished by perfected skill and a high sense of beauty. The confession of a somewhat lower technical level in the general norm of mediaeval Spanish work, as contrasted with Italian and Flemish craft, must not be taken as broader in its implications than has been specifically stated: the fact remains that the pictorial production of the peninsula in the Middle Ages constitutes one of the great European schools of painting.

CHAPTER II

THE REMAINS OF PRE-ROMANESQUE PAINTING

Inasmuch as this book does not attempt to deal with illumination of manuscripts or even with monumental painting consisting merely of pure design, in reality it begins perforce with the Romanesque period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which first presents to the student of Spanish Christian art appreciable examples of frescoes and panel pictures that admit the human form as an important factor in their compositions. The mural decoration of Pedret and one or two antependia may conceivably, though far from certainly, belong to the tenth century, and would in that case constitute exceptions to the generalization that significant, extant, monumental painting is not encountered in Spain before the two centuries that are customarily denominated as the Romanesque period. The very exiguous remains of monumental painting that have been assigned to earlier epochs than the tenth century are in so fragmentary and faded a state of deterioration as to provide neither aesthetic nor archaeological satisfaction; or the frescoes of the more primitive centuries, even when better preserved, are expanses of pure design rather than representations of scenes and figures. The decrepitude of the less than sparse relics of this earlier pictorial epoch renders it well-nigh impossible to control the opinions in regard to dating enunciated by the travellers and scholars of the elder days, and it has sometimes happened that frescoes once perceptible upon the walls have now moldered or crumbled into virtual or complete invisibility.

The frescoed figures that have been excavated at Mérida, since they are works of classical antiquity, fall without the scope of this book. Four of the figures, two men and two women, have been found, preserved at full length, in niches of a small, square, sepulchral vault outside the walls of the ancient city. Another set of four, likewise paired in sex but surviving only in the lower part of the body, are painted on the apsidal wall of a building (just west of the theatre) that José Ramón Mélida has guessed to be a Roman house transformed into a Christian basilica during the fourth or fifth century. Although admitting the pictorial style in this edifice as thoroughly Roman, i. e., Pompeian, both in the polychrome figures and in the painted decorative backgrounds of simulated architecture and other Hellenistic *motifs* (which include even a *putto* riding an animal), yet the Spanish archaeologist believes the frescoes to have been executed for Christians and even advances the hypothesis that the personages may be the effigies of martyrs. Dr. C. L. Kuhn, however, in his important dissertation, points out that, since urns with human ashes were unearthed in the bases of the niches adorned with the figures in the sepulchral vault outside the city, those frescoes must have been portraits of the deceased and cannot have depicted Christians, who did not practise cremation. It thus becomes highly probable that the partially preserved figures in the building near the theatre, which are identical in manner, were also pagan productions and mortuary effigies, and José Ramón Mélida's interpretation of the building as a Christian basilica would then fall to the ground. If it could be definitely proved a Christian construction, there is just a possibility that the mutilated forms might represent a bodily adoption by the Christians of the classical style, as in the art of the catacombs, but his architectural arguments fail to demonstrate conclusively the Christian use of the edifice. In the frescoes recently discovered in the crypt of the church of Santa Eulalia de Bóveda, northwest of Lugo,[1] whether they be Roman, Visigothic, or examples of the Asturian style of the ninth century, the human figure is not included in the decorative repertoire.

That the Pre-Romanesque Asturian churches and palaces of the ninth century were embellished with frescoes is proved by references in the historical literature of the period. The Asturian mural paintings, however, that have suffered least from the wear and tear of time, those of the church of S. Julián de los Prados (usually called Santullano) at Oviedo, in all probability contemporary with this edifice of the ninth

[1] Not the Bóveda south of Lugo.

century, display a decoration consisting only of ornamental *motifs* which in the upper zones of the walls follow the precedent of Roman pagan buildings and of the early Christian basilicas in depicting rhythmically repeated pieces of classical architecture (although in Santullano the classicism is debased by contamination with elements of the Pre-Romanesque architectural style). Amidst the painted pure design that embellishes the rest of the edifice, the vault of the principal apse is singled out for a particularly luxuriant decoration with rather ostentatious geometrical and conventionalized floral *motifs*, and many patches of identical or nearly identical ornamentation are still extant in at least two other Asturian churches of the ninth century, S. Miguel de Linio near Oviedo and S. Salvador at Val-de-Dios near Villaviciosa. The fact that the polychromy which remains is closely similar in the character of its *motifs* in every one of three churches of the ninth century constitutes cumulative evidence for the belief that in no one of them is it an addition of some subsequent century but that it is contemporary with the buildings. This theory is further corroborated by the happy chance that has preserved to us on the wall of the right arm of S. Miguel de Linio, in conjunction with the floral and geometric decoration, the vestiges of a human form, a figure seated upon a throne. Despite the extreme state of decay, which imperils categorical judgment in the case of all these primitive frescoes, it may be plainly perceived that the style of the figure does not tally with any known Romanesque manner. Although better executed than the figures rudely carved on the jambs of the portal, yet, like certain of them, it resembles in pose and style the forms of magistrates in Byzantine consular diptychs. Since the sculptured figures are undoubtedly contemporary with the building, the painted form, which resorts to the same kind of Byzantine prototype as a model, may, with a fair degree of safety, be likewise placed in the ninth century. The iconographical interpretation of the fresco remains quite as unsolved a problem as that of the carvings. In both instances the figures may have been copied from the Byzantine diptychs to serve merely as decorative forms without any precise meaning, or the Asturian artists and their patrons may have given them some new significance such as that suggested for the jambs by Fortunato de Selgas,[1] who surmises that the personages were here conceived as magistrates presiding over martyrdoms.

Another church of the ninth century, now known as the Cámara Santa and attached to the cathedral of Oviedo, provides an example of the more drastic phenomenon of the utter disappearance of frescoes once seen, those mentioned in the sixteenth century by Philip II's archaeological agent, Ambrosio de Morales, as existing in the apse and as belonging to the epoch of the original building, and we are left to guess whether these paintings might not really have been produced, contrary to Morales's opinion, at the time of the Romanesque remodelling of the small edifice. The vestiges of outlines of angels or of angel-formed signs of the Evangelists on the vault of the nave of the Cámara Santa are too dim to allow a chronological examination. The proposal of certain scholars to ascribe to the ninth century two other sets of non-extant frescoes in the cathedral of Oviedo, which were similar one to the other, can be definitely rejected because the extant sculpture to which they were curiously joined is undoubtedly Gothic work of no earlier a date than at least the first half of the thirteenth century. These paintings, on the inside walls over the entrances to the Cámara Santa and to the Panteón de los Reyes, represented the bodies of Our Lord, the Virgin, and St. John in the Crucifixion, whereas the heads are carved in stone. The heads now imbedded in the masonry over the west portal of the Panteón de los Reyes once stood, with painted bodies attached, above the entrance to the apse of the ninth century church of Sta. María del Rey Casto, which has been transformed into the present baroque structure of the Panteón. The frescoed parts of the two Crucifixions have perished, but the sculptured heads remain, those in the Panteón being somewhat later and much less fine in craftsmanship than the examples in the Cámara Santa, which retain a few Romanesque mannerisms in the treatment of the hair and beard but in other respects exhibit a more advanced Gothic naturalism than the celebrated carved pairs of Apostles on the walls of the chapel. The singular combination of projecting stone sculpture with flat painting was evidently common in the cathedral of Oviedo and its dependencies, and may have had a broader mediaeval diffusion in other places than has been suspected. The cathedral of Oviedo itself, which gave way to the existing late Gothic edifice, is reported to have contained over the triumphal arch a similar Crucifixion, produced by a union of the plastic and pictorial arts. Romanesque analogies, with the heads in relief, may be found in the enamels of Limoges and in certain painted panels of wood (as in the Plandiura, Soler y March, and Rómulo Bosch Collections at Barcelona).

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[1] *Monumentos ovetenses*, 131.

In our subsequent study of the frescoes of Catalonia, we shall have occasion to attribute to Pre-Romanesque days, with much more reason, another non-extant cycle, the scenes from Genesis in S. Pedro at Campdevánol.

A final example of deterioration so great as to challenge any dogmatic attempt at ascription to a hoary date is encountered in Catalonia in the semidome of the apse of S. Miguel at Tarrasa (Fig. 1), and the whole problem is further complicated by the recent restoration, however scientific that restoration be. Whether or not the foundations of the edifice be Visigothic, the present apse may have been built in the ninth or tenth century,[1] and there is nothing inherently absurd in attributing the paintings to the Carolingian Age. The preservation is most tolerable in the lower zone of the semidome, where, about a set of wheels at the centre, are grouped kneeling figures holding their fingers to their mouths. At either end of this zone are painted pieces of tapestry as if the figures were conceived to be in a pavilion. In the upper part of the semidome a circular halo may perhaps be discerned and certainly one other kneeling form like those below. Had we originally here the common mediaeval theme of the adoration of the Pantocrator? Soler y Palet identifies the adorers, for no apparent reason, with the Apostles. Were they Apostles, they would scarcely, all of them, have been depicted with smooth faces and without haloes. The presence of the four wheels, as Dr. Kuhn has rightly pointed out, suggests that the subject was that combination of Ezekiel's vision of the flaming wheels with the Apocalyptic theophany of which we shall encounter later examples, and in such case the kneeling figures would be a delegation of the Elders of Revelation. The background of the whole semidome consists of a mesh of studs connected by lines, so that the appearance is as of a cushion. The frescoes are bound at the bottom by a border that may be described as a series of parallel maeanders. As in the case of the magistrate at S. Miguel de Linio, one of the reasons for guessing that the paintings may have been Carolingian is that their style has no analogue in the several Romanesque schools. The forms are rather heavy, and the position of the curiously large pupils in the corners of the eyes is defined by Dr. Kuhn as a trait of Mozarabic illumination. No allegiance to Byzantium is apparent. Professor Porter has indicated to me the very similar mode of rendering the folds of the drapery in the Cutbercht-Evangeliar in the Hofbibliothek at Vienna, a south-English manuscript probably to be dated in the latter part of the eighth century;[1] the illumination depicting St. Matthew exhibits the same strange, meditative position of the hand raised

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[1] J. Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, I, 339.

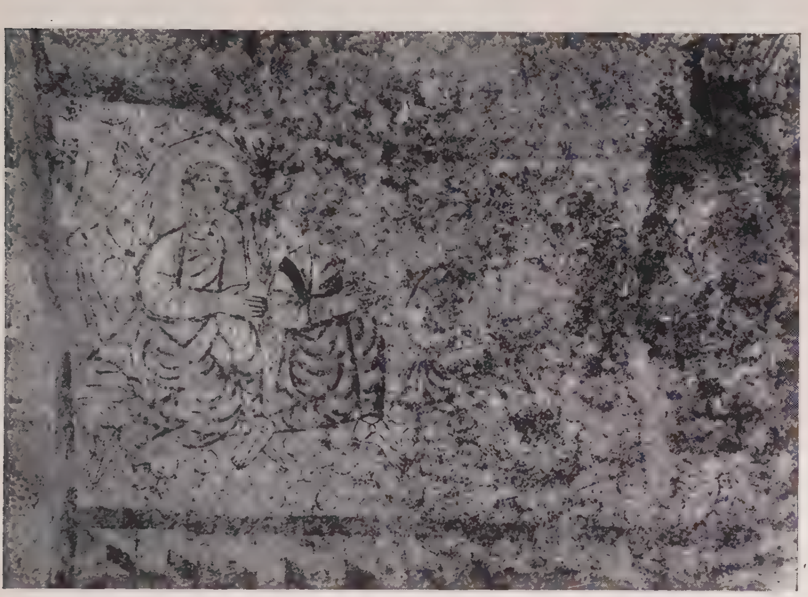

Fig. 1. SECTION OF FRESCO IN SEMIDOME, S. MIGUEL, TARRASA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

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[1] E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1916, p. 137, and plates 297–299; see also Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture* (English edition), I, 9.

to the face. At Tarrasa one fold in the drapery of the figure close to the halo seems to be blown out behind him. This figure and likewise some of the others, especially in the treatment of the hair, give to the spectator at other moments the disconcerting impression of possibly being Gothic. In fact, the ravages of time and perhaps the restorer's endeavors to compensate for them, however true to the existing outlines he has sought to remain, have so confused the traces of the original handicraft that they leave the critic in an honest quandary as to whether the frescoes of S. Miguel were Carolingian, Romanesque (as Soler y Palet would have them), or, like so much of the other mural decoration at Tarrasa, Gothic. The rather pronounced and curious stylization of the figures and draperies make it less likely than in the case of a number of Catalan frescoes that the archaisms are due merely to the untutored helplessness of a rustic artist working in the Gothic period. A few small patches of fresco (preserving, however, no figures) in what looks like an identical style emerge here and there in the probably Visigothic apse of Sta. María at Tarrasa from underneath the existing Gothic mural paintings where bits of these have crumbled away.

The Pre-Romanesque Mozarabic churches of the tenth and early eleventh centuries seem generally to have abjured painting as a mode of embellishment, whether or not Gómez-Moreno is right in supposing a reflex of the iconoclastic movement in Spain. Unless we have the hardihood to date the frescoes of the church of Pedret in the tenth century,[1] it must be acknowledged that when mural paintings are found in these buildings, as in S. Baudelio de Berlanga, they were additions of the Romanesque period.

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[1] For a discussion of this problem, see below, pp. 133 ff.

PART II

THE ROMANESQUE STYLE

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING OF ROMANESQUE PAINTING IN SPAIN · THE COLLECTIONS OF EXAMPLES

Spanish painting of the Romanesque period conforms fairly well to what is perhaps the most usual chronological understanding of the vague term "Romanesque", the two hundred years from 1000 to 1200; but it is just possible that one or two pictorial monuments[1] would demand the broader interpretation of the word which would include the tenth century, or that we should recognize in them the scanty remains of the Carolingian Age, and it is certain that the Romanesque style maintained itself in the painting of Spain until the last years of the thirteenth century, affected only occasionally, and then in non-essentials, by the new Gothic manner of northern Europe. The admission must be made at once, moreover, that no Spanish Romanesque fresco or panel can with any degree of surety be dated even in the eleventh century, i. e., before the second century of the epoch. Until the sixteenth century, the adjective "Spanish" is a geographical rather than a national term, for the peninsula, although it had long been gradually moving towards consolidation, continued to be divided among a number of separate powers. In both the Romanesque and Gothic epochs, the art produced in the dominions of the several powers, with the exception of Mohammedan territory, contains a generally characteristic, unifying strain that makes all the architecture, sculpture, and painting created in the different regions as truly "Spanish" as the aesthetic output of Florence, Siena, Venice, and Lombardy may be said to be collectively "Italian." In order to understand the local developments, the relation of one regional school to another, and in order to see the whole of Spanish Romanesque painting in its proper light, it is necessary to outline briefly the political subdivisions of the country and the cultural conditions evolved in each.

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[1] For instance, as we have seen, an antependium or so and perhaps the frescoes of Pedret.

The factor that most distinguished the history and art of the Iberian peninsula from the situations in the other countries of Europe was the near presence of a Mohammedan civilization. It is true that the domain of the infidels had already been considerably restricted by Christian prowess and perseverance from that virtually complete occupation of the peninsula which they had achieved in the first years of the invasion at the beginning of the eighth century; and yet at the opening of the Romanesque period in the eleventh century the Moors still held much more than half the country, of which they were only gradually dispossessed in the course of the next two hundred years. By the beginning of the twelfth century the Christian powers in the west of the peninsula, after many ups and downs, had eventually widened their frontiers to include Leon, Castile as far south as the Tagus, and Portugal as far south as Coimbra. The border kingdom between France and Spain, Navarre, had long been free of the invaders. In the east, Catalonia had been largely able to withstand the Moors since the first of the ninth century, but Aragon was only a small strip of territory to the north of Huesca. In 1085, Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile had extorted from the Moslem prince Cadir the city of Toledo, and two years later transferred thither the capital of his kingdom. During the twelfth century, the Cross pressed forward more energetically. Alfonso VII (1126–1157) succeeded in stretching the Christian borders to the southern mountain range of the Sierra Morena. The sovereigns of the eastern domains of Catalonia and Aragon were likewise pushing the infidel back. Alfonso I of Aragon (1104–1134) expanded his country to a line that included Calatayud and extended south of the Ebro, except from Lérida to the sea (a territory, however, that the Christians soon acquired). James I, the Conqueror (1213–1276), at the beginning of the Gothic period, completed the capture of the Balearic Isles in 1235 and took Valencia in 1238, making them henceforth parts of the Aragonese possessions. The overwhelming victory of the Christian forces of the peninsula at Navas de Tolosa in 1212 and the auspicious crusade of Ferdinand III, the Saint, of Castile and Leon, resulting in his capture of the very focus of Mohammedan civilization, Cordova, in 1236, and of Seville in 1248, had restricted Moorish autonomy by the middle of the thirteenth century to the small southeastern kingdom of Granada. Despite this gradual loss of control, the culture of the invaders had been so splendid in the greatest days of the Cordovan Caliphate, its aftermath was still so significant, and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Moors remained so vital a political element in the peninsula, that, although the scope of the influence has been exaggerated, the art of the Spaniards was inevitably affected by the proximity. The friendly intercourse between the two peoples was much more extensive than is usually recognized. Nor was it always the Cross against the Crescent, but with the dark and devious ways of diplomâcy it not infrequently happened that a Christian potentate would ally himself, against a coreligionist, with an infidel, or a Moorish prince would seek his own advantage against another Moslem by enlisting the aid of an enemy of his faith. The whole career of the Cid in the eleventh century is a striking example of such political involution. Even when the Spaniards had achieved the reconquest of a piece of territory, the Moors would remain with their arts and crafts under the title of *mudéjares*, Mohammedan subjects of Christian monarchs, and the opportunity for influence would be all the closer. Moreover, Christians who as Moorish subjects, *mozárabes*, had been trained in the Mohammedan arts and even Moorish craftsmen themselves were constantly seeking employment in the Catholic kingdoms. The influence was perhaps slighter in Romanesque sculpture and painting than in architecture; and yet in painting it is unmistakable, and its constituents will be analyzed in the proper place.

Despite the large extent of Christian territory in western Spain during the Romanesque period, Castile and Leon had recently been so seriously disturbed by counter-pushes of the Moors, especially at the end of the tenth century the crushing, though temporary, victories of the great Almanzor, that this section of the peninsula did not possess so much energy as the quieter Catalonia to devote to painting, a more adventitious art than architecture or sculpture and a less integral part of an edifice than sculpture; and thus the west was less productive in frescoes and panels. Historical conditions coincide very neatly in Leon and Castile with the limits of the Romanesque and Gothic periods to create clear chronological divisions: the Romanesque period, broadly speaking, may be said to have begun with the first union of the crowns of Leon and Castile under Ferdinand I of Castile in 1037 and to have stretched over the two centuries when the two kingdoms were sometimes joined and sometimes separated; the Gothic period may be considered to have opened with the permanent coalition of the two domains under Ferdinand III of Castile, the Saint, in 1230 and to have continued until the dawn of the Renaissance with the union of Leon, Castile, Navarre, Aragon, and Catalonia under Ferdinand and Isabella in 1479. Within the realm of Leon, in the province of Galicia, there lay a great religious shrine that now and in the Gothic period exercised an almost incalculable influence upon Spanish art — Santiago de Compostela. At the beginning of the ninth century there had been discovered at the spot what was believed to be the body of St. James Major (Sant-iago), who was supposed to have first preached the Gospel in the peninsula, who now became once for all the patron of Spain, and who in the present crisis was thought to be the supernatural leader of the Christians against the Mohammedan enemy. By the Romanesque period, although the first large church at the shrine had met destruction at the hands of Almanzor, Santiago de Compostela was already one of the most popular pilgrimages in Europe, and its glory was ever on the increase; the present great Romanesque cathedral was begun in 1078. The itinerary for the hosts of pilgrims, with its ramifications, the so-called "Way of St. James," constituted an artery by which aesthetic influences easily flowed from France into Spain and contrariwise. The churches and monastic establishments along the Way naturally assumed a unique importance and magnificence, seeking to impress and entice pilgrims by decking themselves in an unwonted splendor of architecture, sculpture, and painting; and the Way itself seems to have become a long-extended Romanesque school of a kind of international style in which Spanish artists vied with French in architecture and ornamentation of which the character was closely analogous. Catalonia lay off the Way of St. James, and there other forces operated to produce a flowering of the Romanesque arts and their connection with France. On the other hand, the route led directly through the western kingdoms of Castile and Leon and called into being a whole line of great architectural and sculptural monuments. Although a large number of frescoes and panels were probably executed but have perished, painting, partly for a reason that has already been assigned, does not appear to have kept pace in the west with her sister arts. It was, however, because the city of Leon lay on the Way of St. James as well as because it enjoyed the honor of a royal residence that in the twelfth century the church of S. Isidoro was embellished with an important cycle of Romanesque frescoes that are still extant.

The energy of Catalonia was less sapped by invasions of the Moors. Wrested from their control at the beginning of the ninth century by Louis of Aquitaine, it became in 814 a county with a rather nominal dependence upon the Carolingian dynasty and in 874 asserted its complete autonomy. Although in more or less constant warfare with the Mussulmans and once or twice again overrun by them, as, for instance, by Almanzor, Catalonia did not have to grapple with them so seriously for its existence as was the case in the west, so that, by the time the Romanesque period had arrived, conditions were sufficiently settled to allow leisure to the inhabitants to apply themselves in greater degree to even so purely a decorative art as painting as well as to the more utilitarian art of architecture and the inseparably linked art of sculpture. The Romanesque production of Lérida and its district betrays more indebtedness to the Moors than the rest of Catalonia because this one region remained in subjection to them until as late as 1118, when Alfonso I of Aragon captured it and added it to his crown; and it did not become a part of Catalonia until 1149. The larger significance of Catalonia in Romanesque painting is doubtless to be ascribed also to its more vital political activity. While Leon and Castile were partly engaged in recovering territory that they had lost to the Moors, Catalonia had vigor to devote, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to the policy of expansion north of the Pyrenees which served to cement more closely a relationship with French art that took the place of the influence, in the western kingdoms, of the Way of St. James. From the standpoint of culture, the territories north of Catalonia and Aragon in what is now southern France, particularly the immediately contiguous provinces of Cerdagne and Roussillon, were largely one with these adjacent Spanish domains; and in the latter part of the Romanesque period and until 1258, through the policy of ultra-Pyrenean expansion, they were actually annexed politically by Catalonia and Aragon in varying degrees of extent. These French possessions, in their extreme limits at the beginning of the thirteenth century, stretched as far north in Languedoc, in fact or in theory, as Quercy, Carlat, and Gévaudan, and included Provence. After the French claims were finally renounced in 1258 by James the Conqueror, Cerdagne and Roussillon, which had been acquired in 1117 and 1172 respectively, were retained, although ceded until 1349, under the suzerainty of the king of Aragon and Catalonia, to the collateral house of the dynasty of Majorca; and they remained a Spanish appanage, except for a short time at the end of the fifteenth century, until the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, when they passed permanently into the hands of France. During the whole mediaeval period and even in the Renaissance, their art may thus be considered to belong to the Catalan family. The general connection of French and Catalan art was further strengthened by ecclesiastical bonds. Not only did many of the Catalan sees, such as Urgel, Gerona, Vich, and Barcelona, depend for a time upon the archbishopric of Narbonne, but numerous monasteries in Catalonia were subject to mother-houses on the other side of the mountains.

Catalan expansion had also taken the direction of Aragon. The latest of the northern districts to be liberated from the Moors, this kingdom was the least distinguished in Romanesque art. From the moment, however, when under Ramiro I it became independent of Navarre in 1035, Aragon had been gradually beating back the invader, recapturing in 1096 Huesca and in 1118 Saragossa, which henceforth was the capital. The dukes of Barcelona had already exercised some control over the neighboring kingdom, and the final and permanent union was consummated in 1162 by Alfonso II as the issue of a marriage between the duke Ramón Berenguer IV and Petronilla of

Aragon. It was because of this coalition that Aragonese painting, except in the earliest Gothic period, remained throughout the Middle Ages a debtor, sometimes in less and sometimes in greater degree, of the school of Catalonia.

The pictorial wealth of Spain, as we have seen, dates back to the deposits of the Romanesque period, which, to say the least, are as rich as those of France, Germany, and Italy in the eleventh, twelfth, and early thirteenth centuries. Compared to the abundant extant examples of the painting of the Gothic and later epochs, the relics of Romanesque painting are scanty, for, as in the rest of Europe, the greater part of the vast pictorial output of the eleventh and twelfth centuries has succumbed to the ravages of time; but in the quantity of what remains, if not in the quality, Spain need not envy the other nations. These extensive deposits are, in large degree, a fairly recent discovery. It was not so long ago that Spanish mural painting of the Romanesque period was believed to be virtually restricted to dilapidated fragments in the small church of El Cristo de la Luz at Toledo in Castile and to the rather copious decoration of the vaults of the Panteón de los Reyes attached as a kind of narthex to the church of S. Isidoro at Leon. The new realization, in the last twenty years, of the importance of Spanish mediaeval art and the impetus that has been given to its study have kept bringing to light a considerable number of Romanesque frescoes in the small rural churches of Catalonia, preserved chiefly in the apses rather than in the rest of the edifices. A few examples remain *in situ;* but the majority, for better keeping, have now been transferred to canvas and admirably installed in the Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona. Three other cycles, from Argolell, Orcau, and S. Pedro del Burgal, grace the splendid collection of Don Luis Plandiura in the same city. The exceptionally well preserved frescoes of one apse, those of the church of Sta. María de Mur in the valley of the Noguera Pallaresa, we are fortunate enough to possess in this country, since they have eventually found their way into the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and have there been set up in a chapel constructed for the purpose. In the midst of the zest for the discovery of fresh material for the study of Spanish Romanesque painting, Aragon and Castile have disclosed a few early mural treasures, hitherto unknown, one great cycle of which, from S. Baudelio de Berlanga, is or was also in the United States undergoing dismemberment, to the eternal discredit of American patrons of art, and being sold piecemeal to various purchasers. Of this monument, again, the authorities of the Boston Museum have had the magnanimity to acquire two important sections.

In panel paintings of the period, the wealth of Spain is unique, since, except for thoroughly Byzantine icons found in Italy, very few such objects of so early a date are extant in any other country of Europe. In Spain itself, almost all the preserved Romanesque examples have been found in Catalonia, although a sparse number of specimens, perhaps of Catalan manufacture, have been discovered in Aragon and Navarre. The panels that exist in largest number were used to cover the vertical faces of altars and are called frontals or antependia. Like the frontals that were sculptured in wood or stucco in ordinary or very low relief and treated with polychromy, those that were merely painted panels constituted a less costly substitute, within the reach of modest parishes, for the antependia that were executed in enamel or raised gold or silver as elaborate specimens of the goldsmith's craft. The authors of the less costly examples sought, as best they could within the limits of their mediums, to reproduce the effects of the richer frontals of enamel and metal. Catalonia has yielded to search a few painted examples of other pieces of altar furniture—the panels to close in the altar at the sides at right angles with the antependium, the retable, the canopy or ciborium, and the simple sloping panel that sometimes in Catalonia took the place of the ciborium. Almost no frontals or other pieces are still in place in the remote little churches; the great repositories are the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, the Episcopal Museum at the important ecclesiastical city of Vich, and the Plandiura Collection at Barcelona. The Episcopal Museums at Lérida and Solsona and several other private collections at Barcelona likewise contain specimens, and a few examples have found their way out of Spain.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOURCES AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ROMANESQUE PAINTING IN EUROPE

All Spanish painting of this period belongs in the same general group with Romanesque painting throughout Europe. The mistake has sometimes been made of considering it too far a separate phenomenon and of analyzing it as a thing by itself. To begin with, the iconographical scheme of decoration in the Spanish and particularly the Catalan churches (for the most numerous examples are preserved in Catalonia) is closely paralleled in all of Romanesque Europe. According to this scheme, the semidome of the Catalan apse regularly contains the Pantocrator, a representation of God, usually or at least often conceived as the second person of the Trinity, in his Byzantine and Apocalyptic character as the creator, ruler, and judge of the universe, surrounded by the signs of the Evangelists or by angels or by both or even accompanied by two Prophets or with other elaborations that will be noted in due course; for the Apocalyptic vision may be substituted a representation of the Virgin enthroned with the Child and receiving the offerings of the three Magi; on the curving wall beneath the semidome, there appears, in a first zone, a frieze of figures of saints, most commonly the Apostles, or, instead, a frieze of sacred narrative; sometimes under this first zone, whether of saints or narrative, a second zone, of narrative, may be added; and the pictorial adornment frequently ends with a zone at the bottom that is painted to give the illusion of a hanging curtain. The possible derivation of the iconography from representations of the Ascension will be the object of subsequent comment. So far as the tattered fragments admit of an opinion, the custom in the nave was probably two zones, consisting usually of sacred narrative. The whole apsidal arrangement is almost, if not quite, as much the Romanesque norm in other countries. A few haphazard examples will illustrate the similarity. In the *locus classicus* for French Romanesque painting, the church of St. Savin in Poitou, the frescoes of the twelfth century in the chapel of the crypt exhibit Christ with the signs of the Evangelists in the barrel vault, then, beneath, a zone of saints between painted columns (as sometimes in Catalonia), and finally the simulated tapestry. In the abbey of La Vaudieu in Haute Auvergne during the same century, one end of a vaulted chapel was embellished at the top with Christ and the Evangelistic symbols and below with a frieze of the Apostles accompanied by the Virgin. The standing Virgin usually appears with the Apostles in Catalonia when the Epiphany is not used above, but at La Vaudieu she herself is enthroned between two angels.

In Germany, the following examples may be selected for mention: the apse of St. Patroclus at Soest (1166), with Christ, the Evangelistic symbols, and saints in the semidome and another line of saints beneath; the same composition in the abbey of Knechtsteden on the lower Rhine (twelfth century); and, not earlier than the end of the eleventh century, underneath the semidome of the apse of the church at Niederzell on the island of Reichenau near Constance two zones of Apostles and Prophets, and, in the semidome itself, Christ with the signs of the Evangelists, Sts. Peter and Paul, and two of the visionary elements that we shall sometimes encounter in the same spot in Spanish churches, a pair of seraphim folded in their wings and the flaming wheels of Ezekiel's prophecy. At Pürgg in the upper valley of the Enus in Styria, in the chapel of St. John, it is along the nave that the lowest zone of frescoes (end of the twelfth or the thirteenth century) is occupied by a painted hanging; in the second zone are Biblical stories and a fable; and in the third zone appear, on either side of the nave, the theme of the wise and foolish virgins, the same subject that is used in a lateral apse of the church at Pedret in Catalonia. The frescoes in the chancel of St. Mary's, Kempley, England, commonly assigned to the twelfth century, display on the barrel vault Christ and the Evangelistic symbols, as well as other parts of the Apocalyptic repertoire, and on the lateral walls the twelve Apostles.

Even Sweden and Denmark,[1] the significance of which in the general evolution of mediaeval European art is just beginning to be duly appreciated, yield us many analogies in Romanesque frescoes that were probably created under German influence. In southern Sweden, for instance, the apses of Vä (end of the twelfth century), of Lackalänga (perhaps decorated in the early thirteenth century), and of Öfraby (perhaps painted as late as the middle of the thirteenth century) display the usual Pantocrator with the Evangelistic symbols in the semidome. At Öfraby, eight saints take the place of the more customary Apostles in the zone below; at Lackalänga the Apostles occupy their usual post, but by exception they are *seated* on a bench as at S. Pedro del Burgal in Catalonia, and four saints are crowded into the semidome, where they frame the central glory. The apse at Bjeresjö (about 1200) presents no essential variations from the norm except the substitution of the Trinity for the Pantocrator; but, amidst the extensive painting of the whole east end of this church, it is to be noted that the bands of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, which ordinarily appear along the sides of the nave, are placed upon the surface of the barrel vault in front of the apse. At Vinslöv (*c.* 1150) the Pantocrator of the apse is almost completely destroyed, but at the centre of the soffit of the triumphal arch may still be seen the theme often utilized in Spain at this spot, the Lamb of God, and lower down on the arch, as at Barbará in Catalonia, Cain and Abel with their offerings.[1] At Hagested in Denmark (about 1200), not only the Virgin and St. John but also two archangels, as sometimes in Catalonia, stand in the apse beside the Pantocrator, and the simulated curtain is also present in the zone beneath; the soffit of the arch of entrance to the apse displays the *motifs*, frequent in Spain, of the Lamb of God at the centre and a saint on each vertical side. Of the very similar embellishment of the apse at Slaglille (second half of the twelfth century), only the left half is preserved, exhibiting the Virgin and an archangel under the nimbus.

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[1] The dates given below are, for Sweden, those of Rydbeck; for Denmark, those of Magnus-Petersen.

In Italy, the analogy of the apse of S. Angelo in Formis near Capua, with the enthroned Christ and Evangelistic symbols in the semidome and angels with St. Benedict and the abbot Desiderius in the zone below (eleventh century), has often been adduced in discussions of the Catalan frescoes. Another Byzantinized apse in southern Italy, of the end of the eleventh century, that of the former cathedral of Foro Claudio between Sessa Aurunca and Carinola, exhibits the Virgin, Child, and angels in the semidome, and, in the zone below, St. Michael surrounded by the Apostles. In the paintings of the apse of S. Vincenzo at Galliano in Lombardy (which have been ascribed to the early eleventh century), the Pantocrator, the archangels Michael and (almost erased) Gabriel, and the Prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel appear in the semidome, and beneath, as sometimes in Catalonia, there is a zone of sacred narrative, here from the life of St. Vincent. The repainted apse of the Lombard church of S. Fedelino near Novate (the original adornment of which perhaps also dates from the eleventh century) presents us with the Pantocrator and angels in the semidome and a zone of Apostles or at least saints below. Among the frescoes of S. Pietro at Civate, the most striking analogy to the Catalan productions is found in the figure of a wise virgin (probably of the twelfth century) in the crypt, remaining, evidently, from a series of these maidens of the parable, executed, however, in a style far removed from that of Pedret. Other iconographic similarities, both in the frescoes and panels, to the Romanesque output of the rest of Europe, especially to the several western schools for the illumination of manuscripts, will appear in the course of the subsequent paragraphs. The possible relationships to Coptic and Cappadocian art will also be the subjects of later investigation.

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[1] Rydbeck (p. 90) mentions a number of other Scandinavian arches thus decorated.

The Catalan scholar Pijoán has ingeniously conjectured that for all this Romanesque apsidal iconography of Europe there must have existed some prototype in earlier Christian art (or, it may be assumed that he would be willing to say, several prototypes, very similar to one another) which compounded a representation from the visionary passages in Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the book of Revelation and thus displayed, logically united, *all* of these Apocalyptic elements, some of which appear now in one church, now in another. In such a prototype the semidome would have shown the Pantocrator surrounded by the signs of the Evangelists, the seraphim with wings full of eyes, the mystical wheels of the first and tenth chapters of Ezekiel, and the two archangels; and in the zone beneath would have appeared the visionaries themselves, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and perhaps St. John the Evangelist. Pijoán's theory would be that the Romanesque painters or their patrons adopted some but not all of these factors for any given apse, as will be seen later in our more detailed analysis of the frescoes, and, being not too well versed in the ecclesiastical lore of the schools, they sometimes misapplied and misplaced the several elements, substituting, for instance, in Sta. María de Esterri de Aneu the Epiphany for the Pantocrator in the midst of the Apocalyptic appurtenances and setting the seraphim in the under zone. The likelihood that there were such prototypes and that these prototypes were Byzantine will be discussed subsequently; but there is always the other possibility that the painters added here one detail and there another to the general Byzantine and Romanesque theme of the Pantocrator directly from the Biblical visionary sources rather than from some previously executed norm in painting or mosaic and that, when *peculiar* similarities in the choice of such details occur, as between certain Catalan apses and between these apses and Italian examples, some sort of connection must be assumed. The source, or rather one of the sources, for the apsidal iconography may have been the composition of the Ascension: the ascending Christ, sometimes supported by angels, is set in the semidome; the lower participants in the scene, the Virgin and Apostles, are consigned to the zone beneath and eventually, in the majority of examples, are stereotyped into rigidly frontal cult-images, their original connection with the supernal scene having been forgotten. But if such was in part the derivation of the stock themes for the adornment of apses, Apocalyptic elements, for instance especially the Evangelistic signs, were early merged with the idea of the Ascension. By the Romanesque period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and probably at a considerably earlier moment the primitive source in the Ascension was no longer remembered, and the different constituents were conceived as drawn from the book of Revelation and from the Prophets. How little the possible origin in the Ascension was realized is illustrated by the substitution of the Virgin for the Pantocrator and, in the inferior zone, of other saints for the Apostles.

In essential style, also, the Romanesque painting of Spain runs parallel to the production of other countries. That there is such a thing as a general and single Romanesque style prevalent throughout Europe and characterizing both sculpture and painting, stares one in the face, although, of course, it assumes varied expressions according to time and place, as the Gothic style or the Renaissance style took on a different stamp in each country. It is, nevertheless, curious that such unity should exist when we realize that the style was a fusion of two principal factors, the influence of Byzantine art and a constant dependence upon a separate western aesthetic tradition, and that at least the second factor, the western, was itself subdivided into several rather distinct strains. It is the Byzantine factor that first calls for discussion. The unprejudiced mind, in taking a broad view of the whole field, cannot seriously question the fact that Romanesque painting in Europe was largely derived from the compositions and forms of Byzantine art. It is not meant to include in the present statement the illumination of manuscripts, where western ideas had greater sway, however far Byzantine models enjoyed popularity even in this sphere; and the Byzantine influence was naturally more potent in the monumental decoration of apses, for which there were direct and complete Byzantine models to follow with exactitude, than in narrative frescoes or panels. Except in Spain, however, the relics of Romanesque panel painting are too slight to afford a valid basis for judgment. No less certain than the existence of the Byzantine influence is the fact that it was modified, sometimes more and sometimes less, by western aesthetic traditions and by the more vigorous and naturalistic imagination of the Occident. In the several countries it was affected by local tendencies, and it was partially transmuted by broadcast borrowings of iconography, mannerisms, and *motifs* from the several western schools of manuscript-illumination. By the phrase "Byzantine influence," I refer to a knowledge of actual Byzantine models, without regard, at the moment, for those aspects of the Byzantine tradition that sifted into Carolingian and earlier and later illumination in the West and thence indirectly into Romanesque painting. The primary sources of the Byzantine inspiration of Romanesque painting were the monumental frescoes, mosaics, miniatures, and other minor arts of the almost synchronous Second Golden Age of Constantinople which lasted from the end of the ninth to the beginning of the thirteenth century; but some formative influence must be assigned also to the products of the Christian East of the earlier period, whether we call them Byzantine or Early Christian and from whatever section of the East they came, Syria, Anatolia, Alexandria, or Byzantium itself. Ivories, illuminations, fabrics, and other objects of the minor arts executed in the first centuries of the Christian Orient continued to circulate in the West during the Romanesque period, and even the major arts of the earlier eastern empire must have been known through travels and the crusades. It is not, however, within the province of this book to trace by what commercial, political, monastic, and other channels the Byzantine influence in general reached the West; the fact that it is one of the primal elements in the Romanesque style in Spain and elsewhere is enough for us to record.

To illustrate its great significance, we may turn again for the moment to the apsidal iconography of Romanesque churches. According to the normal scheme of the mosaics or frescoes of Byzantine churches in the Second Golden Age, the Pantocrator was represented in august majesty at the centre of the dome accompanied by angels; the second place of honor, the semi-dome of the apse, was assigned to the Virgin with the attendant archangels, Sts. Michael and Gabriel; and beneath her were ranged, in one or two zones, the Prophets and saints. In this Byzantine iconography of the apse there can never have been any idea of the Ascension. An identical scheme was sometimes used in Romanesque apses, except that, in Catalonia, it seems to have been the rule to combine with the enthroned Virgin the three Magi, and a zone or zones of sacred narrative were occasionally depicted under the usual zone of saints beneath the Virgin. This composition for the Epiphany, with the Virgin solemnly ensconced in the middle and holding the Child straight in front of her, is a common one also for sculptured Romanesque tympana. It perhaps entered Romanesque art through pilgrimages to the Holy Land, where, in a mosaic on the façade of the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the Virgin was probably thus represented with the star above her, an angel on either side of her, to the left the three Magi, one kneeling, and to the right the shepherds. In the three Catalan semidomes in which it appears,[1] the shepherds are absent, and one of the Wise Men is therefore removed to the other side of the Virgin to fill the space: in the apse of Sta. María de Tahull there are two stars symmetrically placed about the Virgin's halo but no angels; in that of Sta. María de Esterri de Aneu there are the two angels but no star; whether there were angels or stars at Valencia de Aneu can no longer be determined.

Inasmuch, however, as the Romanèsque churches that were frescoed had often no dome, the figure of the Pantocrator very commonly took the place of Our Lady in the semidome. He had reigned at times from this spot, indeed, in Byzantine churches before the Second Golden Age, as in S. Vitale at Ravenna, and even in the twelfth century it was this position that was chosen for His honor (as a colossal bust rather than the whole form) in the thoroughly Byzantine mosaic decoration of the churches of Monreale and Cefalù in Sicily. In the vaults of the Panteón de los Reyes at Leon and of Maderuelo in the province of Segovia and in those of St. Martin de Fenouillar, S. Julián de Boada, and Polinyá in Catalonia, the Pantocrator is actually represented in a spot that corresponds to the Byzantine dome; at Fenouillar the glorified Virgin likewise appears on one of the end walls in her Byzantine location. At Barbará the Pantocrator, surrounded, as at Fenouillar, by the twenty-four Elders, is represented in the crossing, and, as far as one can judge from the scanty remains, is curiously repeated, accompanied by the Evangelistic symbols, in the semidome of the apse. The seraphim veiled in wings full of eyes, who put in their appearance so often in the Catalan and even in Castilian frescoes and who seem to have been suggested by the description of the cherubim[2] in the tenth chapter of Ezekiel, probably were transferred to Romanesque art from Byzantine churches, where they were employed especially for the embellishment of pendentives. In the apsidal frescoes of the Romanesque period, not only the disposition of the themes but the general factors in the composition and the types of persons with their costumes are of ultimate Byzantine derivation.

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[1] The Epiphanies at St. Martin de Fenouillar and at Barbará and the second Epiphany on a lateral wall of Sta. María de Tahull are parts of narrative friezes.

[2] The fact that in the semidome of Sta. Eulalia de Estahón the angel at the left, thus garbed, is labelled a cherub and the exactly similar one at the right a seraph shows that the Catalan artists made no distinction between their representations of these two orders of celestial beings. In this book, the word, seraph, will be employed.

Pijoán, in outlining his theory[1] of a non-extant source for Latin-Christian (i. e. Romanesque) apsidal iconography, does not state whether he believes that source to have been Byzantine. Certain it is that the churches of the eastern empire might have provided the western masters with almost all of the iconographic elements that they called into service to embellish their own sacred edifices, and it would not have required much inventive effort on their part to supply the rest from the perusal of Apocalyptic literature, so that the modern critic, for an explanation, need not have recourse to a hypothetical artistic prototype. In particular, the appearance of archangels with the Virgin in the apse of Sta. María de Esterri de Aneu need not be interpreted as a confused retention of the visionary repertoire that ordinarily surrounds the Pantocrator but as a reflection of the Byzantine custom, for the apse, of depicting her accompanied by Sts. Michael and Gabriel. Before Pijoán changed to the idea that the archangels in this Epiphany were elements transferred from the Apocalyptic vision, he explained their presence by another theory, which also traced them to Byzantine inspiration and is as plausible as his second thought — the suggestion that they are derived from the single angel that introduces the Wise Men in the ordinary Byzantine representation of the scene. Indeed, all of these reasons may have coöperated to occasion their appearance at Esterri de Aneu.

The likelihood that the ultimate source of Romanesque apsidal iconography was Byzantine is increased by the fact that an exactly similar adornment of the apse is found in churches that belong to the wider domain of Byzantine art, if that term is interpreted in its broadest sense. The apsidal frescoes, indeed, of the recently investigated rock-churches of Cappadocia present in some instances the full Apocalyptic paraphernalia and might, therefore, have themselves been the actual prototypes of the western paintings, if we could believe in any effective artistic connection between Cappadocia and western

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[1] See above, pp. 46–47.

Europe. The probability is that both the Cappadocian and the European compositions for the apse were derived from earlier strictly Byzantine examples. The Cappadocian churches were built in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the paintings may have been executed at that time or somewhat later. The semidome of the principal apse of the church of Qeledjlar[1] displays virtually the whole Apocalyptic repertoire — the Pantocrator and Evangelistic signs, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the seraphim clothed in wings, the flaming wheels, and even the personifications of the sun and moon, which appear so rarely in Spain; on the wall beneath the semidome, as frequently in Cappadocia and in Romanesque Europe, is a zone of saints. With the exception of the substitution of the Epiphany for the Pantocrator and Evangelistic signs, all these elements, save the sun and moon, are present in the apse of the Catalan church of Sta. María de Esterri de Aneu, whether through direct Byzantine influence or, as we shall see, through the mediation of Lombard painting. The seraph purifying the lips of Isaiah, who is included at Esterri de Aneu, is not duplicated at Qeledjlar, but this detail is found in other Cappadocian chapels[2] and occurs in Byzantine art at least as early as the seventh century manuscript of Cosmas Indicopleustes in the Vatican. The Pantocrator with some of all this visionary repertoire is found in many Cappadocian apses as well as in those of Romanesque Europe, but in a few instances in Cappadocia the semidome is occupied by the more regular Byzantine theme of the Virgin accompanied by two angels.

A more direct relationship to Coptic art, which is less closely connected with Byzantine production than is Cappadocian art, may possibly be assumed, perhaps through the transmitting agency of the Moors, at least in the case of Spain. Troublesome analogies to the iconography of the Spanish apses occur in the Coptic chapels. In a number of the apses at Bawît in upper Egypt, some of which may have been painted as early as the sixth century, almost the whole visionary outburst manifests itself; and in a lower zone are figured the Apostles and the Virgin, the latter sometimes standing, sometimes, as at La Vaudieu in France but in distinction from the Spanish custom, seated with the Child. A small apse from the convent of Saint Apollô, for instance, includes the Saviour in majesty, the Evangelistic signs, Sts. Michael and Gabriel, the sun and moon, and even the wheels.[1] Mâle[2] and Ugo Monneret de Villard[3] go so far as to derive the visionary themes in Romanesque apses and on Romanesque portals ultimately from Coptic sources. It is hard to believe that Christian Egypt alone supplied the origins for these subjects in Byzantine and Romanesque churches, and it is easier to suppose that the visionary repertoire was evolved at the same time in many parts of the east-Christian domain and that it was imported into western Europe through the more prominent and closer-lying examples in territory that could be called Byzantine in the strict sense. In Spain, however, since it was situated nearer to Africa and since the Moors would have constituted a channel of communication with Egypt, it is not impossible that the general European Romanesque visionary deposit received additional stimulus from Coptic art. There is perhaps not too much temerity in discerning an influence even of Coptic *style* in the frescoes of El Cristo de la Luz at Toledo; and future investigation may well reveal a more intimate connection of mediaeval Spanish art with the Christian art of Egypt than has been surmised by Neuss.[4]

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[1] G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, 68–71 and 203. Professor Porter first called my attention to the Cappadocian analogies.

[2] *Ibid.*, 71.

Although in the Romanesque narrative frescoes and in the panels western and national traditions were more at work, one frequently meets here, also, with Byzantine borrowings both in style and iconography. As in Byzantine churches, for instance, the scenes from the Old and New Testaments may be ranged in horizontal zones along the nave. In the one monument of Spanish Romanesque painting in which the Last Judgment remains as a large, important subject, the frescoes of Sta. María de Tahull, it has its traditional Byzantine position on the

[1] *Rapport de M. Jean Maspero sur les fouilles entreprises à Baouît, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris), *Comptes Rendus*, 1913, p. 290.

[2] *L'art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*, 26.

[3] *Una pittura del Deyr el-Abiaḍ*, in *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso*, Milan, 1925, p. 107.

[4] W. Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, Bonn, 1922, pp. 55 ff.

entrance wall of the church. The Last Judgment on an arch of the Capilla de los Quiñones in S. Isidoro at Leon is only a subordinate piece of decoration and in any case belongs to the belated Romanesque of the thirteenth century. Byzantine models and masters, moreover, instructed western artists in a better technique than they inherited from occidental traditions or than they could develop in their less sophisticated aesthetic environment.

The Byzantine influence was peculiarly cogent in Italy, especially in the south through the impetus that it had received in 1066 from the importation of artists from Constantinople by Desiderius, the great abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino. Yet even in Italy it was constantly affected by western ideas, it was progressively revitalized by the freshness of western fancy, and in places almost completely supplanted by occidental traditions. At least in the monumental painting of Germany, the foundation was likewise Byzantine, however much the whole achievement was altered by local tendencies and Teuton naturalism. In France and Spain, the Latin tradition and feeling perhaps predominated over the Byzantine; when fundamentally Byzantine compositions and forms do appear in these countries, they are likely to be largely accommodated to western conceptions. The Greek strain, however, is generally, and to all seeming, correctly, held to have been somewhat accentuated in Catalonia during the early thirteenth century, following in the wake of the fresh inundation of Byzantinism that overspread Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and in the early Dugento. Its effect may be observed in the iconography and more surely in the technical aspects and ameliorated craftsmanship of a few of the latest Romanesque frescoes and panels. In view of the widespread Byzantine influence one may well ask himself whether it is not after all this almost constant factor that gives to the Romanesque style its unifying element, whether after all the French critic Diehl was so wrong in the past when he considered the Byzantine style quite as basic to the art of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Europe as the Gothic to that of the thirteenth and fourteenth. One does usually get a more or less definable impression of Byzantinism in looking at almost any production of the Romanesque period; the thing that makes one pause in ascribing the impression always to direct Byzantine action is the fact that the separate western traditions of art were partly evolved from the same Hellenistic, Syrian, and Alexandrian strains as true Byzantine art. What seems in a Romanesque painting to be Byzantine may be, in reality, a lingering reminiscence of the art of the Early Christian East that has become a part of one of the occidental manners.

The second main factor in the Romanesque is, then, this western style which at the present day is being ever more clearly defined and more firmly established as a fact by students of mediaeval art. The old theory of a total European dependence upon Byzantium suffers correspondingly. But the western style itself was differentiated into several schools, which are best represented by the paintings in manuscripts. The Hellenic and east-Christian elements out of which purely Byzantine art had grown were likewise transplanted to the West and there united with indigenous tendencies to form divergent artistic groups. With the earlier history of these gradual transmutations we need not concern ourselves; it is sufficient for our purpose to catalogue the schools which, existing in the eleventh century, played their part in the creation of the Romanesque style. Among the most vital elements that were derived from the native aesthetic feeling which ran in the veins of the barbarians who had conquered northern Europe were the proclivity to define form and ornament by emphasized outlines that were full of movement and expression, and even a love of vigorous and agitated line for itself without regard to its function in the rendering of form or setting. It was particularly in England that this linear tendency, in part inherited from the art of Ireland, had powerfully modified the importations from the Christian East to develop the great school of Anglo-Saxon illumination. A desire is manifest, in recent criticism, to stress the potency of the Anglo-Saxon influence in the Romanesque sculpture and painting of France, and the corollary of this proposition is a discernment of the English strain even in Spain. In Germany, too, the linear tendency, partly through indirect importation from England, constituted one of the elements out of which there was evolved a native Teutonic style, existing beside the extensive direct German borrowings, in the Romanesque period, from Byzantine art of the Second Golden Age; but perhaps because of a new study of Early Christian models the Teutonic school developed more sensitiveness to form in three dimensions, in distinction from pure linear definition, and the Teutonic physical type itself made its appearance in "heavier figures" and more "barbaric faces." In France and Spain, what has been called the Latin style manifested itself, the principal trait of which, as in the extensive frescoes of St. Savin in France, was the desire for an effective and clear presentation of a theme, whether a piece of narrative or one of the conventional groups of sacred personages. To this end, the formal design and balance of composition in east-Christian art were sometimes sacrificed; the story was the thing, so that the more careful rendering of the countenance and body and the greater attention to perspective that were cultivated in other western schools and in Byzantium were somewhat neglected. Expression was achieved, not through the features, but through gesture. The figures, despite the desultory means by which they were rendered, tended to assume greater solidity and existence in three dimensions than in Byzantine art. In Italy, what indigenous tendencies had developed succumbed, in greater degree than elsewhere, to the new wave of Byzantinism that flooded the peninsula in the Romanesque period.

The Romanesque ornamental *motifs* were derived and adapted from perhaps even more conglomerate sources. In addition to every phase and age of east-Christian, Byzantine, and western art, large demands, especially in Spain through proximity to the Moors, were made in this respect upon oriental textiles.

Notwithstanding the diversity of all these component factors, a unified Romanesque style resulted. It is true that in one place or at one time one tendency would predominate, at another spot or moment, another; in one kind of work, the influence of Byzantium would prevail, in another, one of the western currents; within the same artistic area, at any given decade, the variations might be considerable from town to town or church to church. The several western traditions were always coalescing in different ways with the dependence upon

Constantinople or with one another, each stylistic proclivity modifying the other. In pointing out the sources imitated, critics have, indeed, exaggerated local and chronological tendencies, for the Romanesque sculptor or painter was glad, really without much discrimination, to utilize as a model any object of past ages or of his own time that came to his cognizance, whether it was an Early Christian sarcophagus, an Alexandrian ivory, a Coptic textile, a Byzantine mosaic, a Carolingian bronze, a page of a manuscript of the eleventh century, or what not. But in the creation of his own work, he transformed his model into something that was both new and expressive of the universal aesthetic temper of the epoch. All the disparities were only different manifestations of the one homogeneous Romanesque style. By this homogeneity it is meant not only that, despite the local variations, there existed the general national or regional propensities which have been outlined in the preceding paragraphs, but that the Romanesque output of all of Europe was fundamentally very much the same, so that any Romanesque object of art is as clearly distinguished from a Gothic as a Gothic from one of the Renaissance. So far as this unity is not occasioned by the general looking towards Byzantium or by the general inheritance from remoter Hellenistic and east-Christian art, I do not know that it can be ascribed to anything more tangible than what we may call the Romanesque spirit, which, nevertheless, was as certain and living a thing as the Gothic spirit or the baroque, permeating and binding together the whole production of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

One of its definitive and loveliest aspects is the balance of the decorative with the realistic purpose. Both the sculpture and painting are primarily conceived as forms and compositions that in mass, line, and color will constitute pleasing decoration for the parts of churches and other edifices, and they are accommodated to this intent. Where realistic representation is at variance with the adaptation of a sculptured figure to the curve of a capital or with the vertical impression desired in a portal, the faithfulness to actuality is sacrificed to the decorative line in question; in the painting of apses and of panels, the general scheme is an arrangement in a formal rather than natural grouping of the figures and of separate scenes (though not necessarily of the figures within any narrative scene); the paint is laid on in masses of flat color with little or no realistic modelling, so as to constitute broad, telling decoration of the wall or section of the altar; and the colors are set beside one another with regard for a striking and pleasant effect on the visitor to the church but without regard for the juxtapositions that occur in nature. Indeed, in the Romanesque period there is a widely prevalent tendency to schematization even in the treatment of the separate figure, the drapery, animals, foliage, and all aspects of actuality; for the stylized form, with its conventionalized, methodically disposed, and ceremonious lines, constitutes a better decorative block than an object that is more freely and realistically rendered. Romanesque stylization is due partly to the legacy from Byzantium and the arts of the Christian East, partly to the innate sense of the epoch for aesthetic fitness. But the desire for realistic representation exerts an almost equal force upon Romanesque achievement. Within the limits of a certain stylization that they seldom completely abandoned, sculptors and painters, with the vigor of western imagination, were always seeking a naturalistic interpretation of the different scenes and a closer and closer approximation to actuality in the treatment of the figure itself. They were constantly trying to burst the bonds of the conventionalisms that they had inherited directly or remotely from the Christian East, and they were thus leading art gradually into the greater freedom of the Gothic epoch. It is this union, in equal parts, of realism with the tendency to schematize that contributes to the charm of Romanesque art. The effect at which the Romanesque painter aimed, with the help of his stylization, was, in general, decoration that should transmit the impression of a solemn majesty; and in the attainment of his august purpose, except for the earlier workers in mosaics, he has never had an equal.

Another aspect of the unifying Romanesque spirit is the propensity, especially in painting, to reduce the setting of landscape, buildings, or accessories to its lowest terms and to concentrate the attention upon the figures and the subject or story represented. The setting is merely suggested symbolically by a bit of tree or foliage or a piece of an edifice, with little or no attempt at perspective, or more usually it is omitted altogether. This peculiarity represents the final stage in the subordination of background to the figures that had belonged to the Early Christian art of Alexandria and Asia through their inheritance from the old Greek tradition, and it denotes the complete collapse of that transitory tendency in Italy of the first centuries after Christ to conceive the figures as only a part of the landscape. It was the logical outcome of that process in the decrease of landscape which had marked the Carolingian period. The backgrounds of Romanesque painting are most often mere expanses of flat color, although these may be enlivened with a formal pattern of stars or of other ornamental *motifs*. The stars, as a setting to the Pantocrator, may refer to the placing of these emblems in Christ's right hand in the first chapter of the Apocalypse. The backgrounds of the frescoes that are blue are usually said to be of Byzantine derivation.

In Catalonia and in France (with sporadic cases elsewhere) the background of a fresco was often curiously treated with broad bands or stripes of different colors. This convention is said to be drawn from the illuminations of Spanish manuscripts where it had become the rule as early as the beginning of the tenth century and especially from those numerous and popular Spanish manuscripts of the commentary of the eighth century monk, Beatus, on the Revelation which continued to be executed as late as the thirteenth century and enjoyed a great vogue in France as well as in the Iberian peninsula. In the case of the French and Spanish Romanesque frescoes, this theory may embody the truth or at least the partial truth; but we must then ask ourselves, how did the custom arise in the Spanish manuscripts themselves? Spanish illumination, moreover, does not explain the striping at Rome in S. Maria Antiqua in the seventh and eighth centuries or in S. Clemente in the ninth, and it is highly doubtful whether it will account for the cropping out of the practice in the late Carolingian fresco of the Last Judgment in the Georgskirche at Oberzell on the island of Reichenau in Germany, a painting that would seem to be removed in space from any probable sphere of Spanish influence, even if it is admitted that the date of the painting at the end of the tenth century would have allowed its author to be familiar with the earliest examples of the Beatus texts. The solution appears to be that in the Spanish manuscripts and at Rome and Reichenau the banding is the result of a gradual conventionalization (which may be traced in the earlier development of miniatures and mosaics in Europe as far back as the fourth century) of the actual representation of landscape and especially aërial perspective in Italian (that is, Latin) art of the first centuries after Christ, a conventionalization, in other words, of what has come to be called by the stock phrase "Latin illusionism". The various blues of the distant sky, for example, would gradually be conventionalized into two sharply differentiated bands of color that do not shade into each other, and the foreground and more distant landscape might pass into bald and formal stripes of two greens, or of yellow or brown and green. The custom of striping may have been evolved likewise, through a process of petrifaction, from earlier actual representations of interior rooms, the lowest band, especially if diapered in any way, having become a stylized mode for indicating the pavement, the highest band, if blue or bluish, the sky over the top of the chamber, and the intervening bands the wainscoting. At Oberzell the uppermost strip of yellow has been interpreted as standing for the clouds, the next of blue for the sky, the third of green for the fields and trees, and the lowest of a less brilliant yellow and spotted with the forms of leaves of plants for the earth.[1] But by the ninth and tenth centuries painters must have pretty well forgotten the significance of the banded background and used it merely as a decorative convention. How little the master of Reichenau understood its origin is betrayed by his use of the same bottom stripe with the leaves for depicting an interior room. Striping may possibly be detected also in the frescoes of the ninth century in S. Vincenzo al Volturno in southern Italy;[2] but, despite these sporadic exceptions, the convention tended to die out save in the Spanish manuscripts and in the French and Spanish Romanesque frescoes. A later exceptional case, of the end of the eleventh century, is the semidome of the church at Niederzell on the island of Reichenau. It is, then, entirely within the province of verisimilitude that the mannerism of striped backgrounds throughout Europe, in Carolingian paintings, in Spanish manuscripts, and in the Romanesque frescoes of France and Spain, is to be traced to a gradual schematization of earlier, more realistic modes of representing landscapes and interiors, but the frequent appearance of banded backgrounds in French and Spanish mural paintings of the Romanesque period seems to have received an additional stimulus from the already established habit of Spanish manuscripts. In France, the outstanding departures from the usage are found in Burgundy; in Catalonia, the principal exceptions occur at Pedret, Sta. María de Mur, Osormort, in the lateral apse on the right at Barbará, in the first zone beneath the semidome of S. Pedro del Burgal, in the frescoes, of later date, at Isabarre and from the city of Andorra, and very generally in the paintings in Roussillon, which now belongs to France; in the other parts of Spain, as far as the sparse remains justify generalization, the custom of striping did not consistently prevail.

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[1] J. Garber, *Die karolingische St. Benediktkirche in Mals*, Innsbruck, 1915, pp. 15 ff.

[2] I owe this last suggestion to Mr. Melville Webber.

At Pedret, however, although the background in general is blue, the foolish virgins stand upon a stripe of red originally bedight with blossoms or leaves, which seems to have been a not infrequent convention for signifying the earth even when the rest of the background was a single, unbroken color, as at Galliano in Lombardy, where there are two stripes at the bottom of the otherwise uninterrupted expanse of blue in the semidome, the lower of which, reddish in tone, contains branches of flowers. In the unstriped Catalan apse of San Saturnino de Osormort the figures likewise stand upon a band symbolizing the turf, which is accented by tufts of grass that are schematized in their form and arrangement. In the frescoes of Esterri de Cardós, although the background is banded throughout in the usual fashion, the lowest stripe of the semidome is littered not only with what have been taken to be representations of living flowers but also with such objects as beakers and hunting horns, so that here again the intention has been interpreted as a desire to use the undermost of the stereotyped bands to suggest the earth. But the floral forms, resembling conventionalized lilies, appear to be rather an attempt to depict an iron grill, or *reja*, or the border of a curtain from which the beakers and horns are hanging. The lowest band in the semidomes of Esterri de Aneu and Burgal has a similar but less complicated edging, without the appendages. The Romanesque painters of Spain may have been in possession of some vague, lingering tradition in regard to the original signification of the striped backgrounds as symbolical of landscape, for it is to be noted that they do not ordinarily admit even a bit of a tree or building when they employ the convention of bands and that when they do not resort to the convention, as at Leon, they are more liberal in their introduction of such details. The frescoes at San Martín Sescorts exhibit three zones in the background that may retain an older tradition in which landscape was not yet reduced to the absolute convention of the usual kind of Catalan stripes. The lowest zone signifies the earth, and to the stars and grouped dots symbolizing the flowers is here added a curious *motif* of straight lines and spirals that may mean rocks. A somewhat similar convention appears in Castile at S. Baudelio de Berlanga and at Maderuelo. Gudiol suggests that the next zone, at Sescorts, of a series of parallel, undulating lines may represent the sea surrounding the land, for the scenes are from Genesis; and the topmost zone would be the firmament. In the frescoes from Orcau, however, the wavy *motif* in the lowest band plainly indicates the earth, for it is surmounted by the forms of plants.

Romanesque homogeneity is still further obtained by the uniformity of technical methods. It has been seen above that the color tends to be flat with only the slightest and most occasional modelling in light and shade or gradation of tone. A substitute for modelling is found in the spots of red in the cheeks (perhaps an element of the old Latin style). The definition of the form and drapery, so far as it goes, is obtained through mere outlines around and on the flat color, which, particularly in the frescoes, are often broad and conspicuous but occasionally a little finer. The lines in the frescoes are commonly black or dark red but sometimes, especially in the draperies, white. Instead of the dark and the white lines, drawing in other colors is usually substituted in the panels, at least for the delineation of details within the general binding contour; and this variation is now and then found even in the mural paintings.

One more general problem in connection with Romanesque painting calls for mention, the question of the amount of indebtedness incurred by painting in the large, which is the concern of this book, to the illumination of manuscripts. Allusion has already several times been made to the relation between these two forms of art; and it is now often assumed, explicitly or by implication, that the technique, compositions, and *motifs* of the frescoes and panels were taken in very large part from the miniatures not only of the eleventh and twelfth centuries but also of the Carolingian and Early Christian epochs. One of the reasons for the assumption is that we first think of Romanesque painting in terms of the miniatures because they are preserved in so much greater number, but we must remember that the churches of Europe originally were crammed with paintings on walls and altars. The assumption of borrowings both in painting and sculpture from the manuscripts is perfectly justified; if, however, the majority of the frescoes and panels were still extant, we should probably find that the process worked also in the other way and that they were quite as fruitful a source to the craftsmen of the miniatures. It is entirely possible, for instance, that the illusory painting of a series of hangings, which was a frequent custom beneath the zones of figured subjects, was evolved first in mural decoration and thence spread into the manuscripts. It was especially in the second half of the twelfth century that the dependence upon the manuscripts grew less, when the Romanesque spirit had fully realized itself and mural and panel painters were learning more and more to stand on their own feet. The proper opinion, in general, is probably that monumental and manuscript painting were really all one and that they both used many elements of technique and composition which were the Romanesque stock-in-trade and originated in neither one sphere nor the other. A certain number of *motifs*, nevertheless, must have been native to the manuscripts and, *vice versa*, to the frescoes and panels.

CHAPTER V

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SPANISH ROMANESQUE PAINTING

It is now our business to discover what elements of the universal Romanesque style were stressed in Spain and what local peculiarities there manifested themselves. We will confine ourselves for the present largely to general statements; the specific applications will be found in the discussion of the individual monuments. Certain peculiarities were the effect of geographical and historical conditions. The contiguity to Mohammedan Spain spelt, as in architecture and sculpture, some degree of Moorish influence, though by no means so high a degree as would be expected and has been often assumed. The Moorish strain declares itself particularly in ornament, as in borders with medallions containing the forms of animals, derived from Hispano-Moresque textiles; but it is also very probable that Mohammedan sources are responsible for the occasional incongruous introduction of hunting scenes and oriental beasts into the midst of the Christian repertoire, themes of earlier Persian art that had been absorbed into the general Mohammedan deposit. One may also accede, without too much credulity, to the contention that the tendency towards stylization was stimulated by contact with the art of Islam. Certainly the Gothic painting of Spain reveals a somewhat greater fondness for stylization than the contemporary production of the rest of Europe, and it can possibly be maintained that the general Romanesque proclivity for this quality was more pronounced in the Iberian peninsula than elsewhere. The reason throughout the Spanish Middle Ages, then, may have been contact with the schematizing attitude of Mohammedan art; but it must be remembered that the Spanish painters were conversant with other models, such as the Irish manuscripts and Byzantine art in general, in which also stylization was carried very far, and that stylization is a regular aesthetic propensity which may develop spontaneously in any school without the action of extraneous forces. The vehicles of the Moorish influence were objects of the minor arts on which were often represented the old oriental themes of forms of animals and of the hunt. The most effective disseminators were the textiles, including those of Hispano-Moresque manufacture as well as those produced in other sections of the Mohammedan domain, which drifted into Christian Spain through the Moorish south or directly through commerce with the Orient. Animals, often confronted according to the *motif* that was diffused throughout the near East from Sassanian Persia, sanguinary struggles of beasts, and the hunt were frequent subjects in all the fabrics of Islam, but the hunt was particularly cultivated in a group of textiles that have been assigned to Mohammedan Mesopotamia. The same subjects were utilized for the adornment of the small Hispano-Moresque ivory boxes, the production of which was at its height in Cordova at the end of the tenth and in the first half of the eleventh century. They commanded so enthusiastic a market in the Christian section of the peninsula that the treasuries of the churches have yielded many examples to modern interest. The objects of the minor arts were the sources from which the Christian painters and sculptors took their conceptions of oriental animals, such as camels, giraffes, and elephants, forms with which the natural human instinct for the exotic led them at times to vary the monotony of Christian iconography.

For these *motifs* of beasts and the hunt, however, there is another possibility of provenience, Byzantium of the iconoclastic period. By reason of the proscription of images, the Byzantine churches and palaces of the eighth and ninth centuries decked themselves with a profane repertoire in which birds and animals played a large part. Inasmuch as the Spanish painters were themselves adorning churches, it is not a wild surmise that, when they introduced secular themes here and there on the walls of sacred edifices, they were thinking of Byzantine prototypes. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the habit of travel was more extended in the Middle Ages than is generally believed, one may well doubt that the Spanish artists knew the comparatively few Byzantine examples of such embellishment.

The Byzantine ivory caskets with mythological and hunting scenes, whether or not any of them can be dated as early as the iconoclastic period, may have contributed their quota to Spanish Romanesque iconography. The origin of the *motifs* of animals and hunting was oriental in Byzantine art as in Spain, and in the case of the Spanish paintings it is, on the whole, more sensible to derive these subjects from the more immediate source, the Mohammedan territory in the south of the peninsula. Mohammedan and other oriental reminiscences are occasionally encountered at least in the Romanesque architecture and sculpture of the rest of Europe, but the fact that they are more recurrent and decided in Spain would point to the proximity of the Moors as the cause. By the infidels also the Spanish Christians were strangely brought anew into contact with the ancient Christian art of Coptic Egypt, sporadic remembrances of which the Mussulmans brought with them.

The contiguity to southern France, the historical, ecclesiastic, and monastic relationships with that region, especially in the case of Catalonia, and the constant pilgrimages from France to the shrine of Santiago de Compostela were among the causes for a pronounced indebtedness to Gallic art, an indebtedness, however, that was perhaps more largely stylistic than iconographic.[1] Examples of the French influence will be often encountered on future pages, especially in the detailed discussion of the different monuments. Occasionally an acquaintance with the northern French movement is revealed, but the aesthetic connection with the southern part of the country was much closer. At times the Spanish painters seem to have made their requisitions even upon French sculpture, as, for example, upon the majestic sculptured tympana. Indeed, if we allow for a considerable number of local divergences, it is almost true that during this period southern France and Christian Spain constituted one artistic domain. A corollary of the association with southern France was the acquisition of something of the expressive linear style that belonged to England. Another Franco-Spanish bond of union was the joint participation in the old Latin style.

Certain scholars have proposed to discern traces of the influence of Lombard-Romanesque painting in the Catalan specimens, whether through the presence of Italian artists in Spain or through the study of Catalonians in northern Italy; and it is indeed an attractive theory thus to parallel the undoubted Lombard-Romanesque elements in the architecture of eastern Spain. Iconographic analogies to Lombard frescoes have been indicated on a former page. Here may be added certain striking parallelisms between the apsidal frescoes of S. Vincenzo at Galliano and of Sta. María de Esterri de Aneu in Catalonia. These parallelisms consist in a mutual plenitude of the same details of that visionary repertoire which we have seen, in the discussion of the Cappadocian churches, to be probably of Byzantine origin. One or two differences between the apsidal decorations of the Catalan and the Italian church make it unlikely that the master of Esterri de Aneu was working upon the model of Galliano itself; but notwithstanding these differences the similarity in the iconography of the two apses is so close as to suggest that the Spanish example was derived from some non-extant Lombard apse almost identical with that of Galliano rather than directly from a Byzantine source. Further arguments will be adduced later in favor of the dependence of the adornment of Catalan apses upon Lombard prototypes. In the lower zone in the Spanish church the Prophets Elijah and Isaiah are introduced as bowing or kneeling in much the same position as the Prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel in the semidome of the Italian church. In the Catalan painting two seraphim are touching the lips of the Prophets with live coals, according to the vision in the sixth chapter of Isaiah, the sense of which is here curiously extended to include Elijah for the purpose of providing a pendant to Isaiah, and at the centre are two pairs of flaming wheels, whether those of Elijah's chariot or those mentioned in Ezekiel's vision as having fire drawn from between them, it is hard to say; in the Lombard painting the Prophets simply adore the Pantocrator, and the wheels are absent. Despite this divergence, however, and despite the considerably later date of the Spanish fresco, there are even closer iconographic similarities between the apses of Galliano and Esterri de Aneu. At Galliano the archangel Michael, accompanied by the inscription, *Peticio* (*Petitio*), appears in the semidome, and the now well-nigh obliterated Gabriel, who constituted his pendant, is reported to have once displayed the inscription, *Postulatio;* in the same spot at Esterri de Aneu, both angels were likewise painted, although the latter at the right has been almost entirely erased. Here St. Michael holds a scroll that has been deciphered to read *ticius*, evidently a misunderstanding and a misspelling of the end of the word *Petitio*. The beginning of the scroll has perished in the fresco, but in all likelihood it originally contained the letters *Pe;* the destroyed Gabriel on the other side, therefore, probably held a scroll with a corruption of the other Latin word for prayer, *Postulacius*. The addition of these inscriptions to the forms of the archangels, incorporating their office as presenters of the prayers of the faithful before the throne of God, may have been a fairly common Romanesque practice (exemplified, for instance, with a substitution of *Precatio* for *Postulatio*, in frescoes once to be seen in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura at Rome and assigned by a scholar who studied them, G. B. de Rossi, to the twelfth century)[1]; but the other parallelisms to the paintings at Galliano would suggest that in Sta. María de Esterri de Aneu they were copied or remembered from this or a similar Italian source.

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[1] See below, p. 71.

The probability that *Postulacius* was inscribed at Esterri de Aneu gains force, and the whole relationship of Catalan and Lombard painting becomes more likely, in the light of the fact that similar scrolls or fragments of scrolls occur in three other Catalan churches. From the closely related decoration of S. Pedro del Burgal an angel is preserved with remains of the word *Postolacius* (*sic*); in Sta. Eulalia de Estahón, the correct theme for the Apocalyptic decoration of the apse, the Pantocrator (and not the wrongly superimposed theme of the Epiphany, as at Esterri de Aneu), is accompanied by the two archangels bearing scrolls, both of which may still be read to contain *Peticius* (or *Pecicius*) and *Postulacius;* and at Esterri de Cardós, the *Postulacius* of Gabriel is visible. The earlier date usually assigned to the frescoes at Galliano and the general flow of Lombard influences in architecture and sculpture into Catalonia would make it likely that this iconography of scrolls was derived by the Spaniards from Italy rather than *vice versa;* but since the dating of Romanesque frescoes in Catalonia as well as Italy is still a precarious matter, there is perhaps more validity to the argument that the curious Catalan distortion of the words *Petitio* and *Postulatio* denotes an untutored, provincial copying of the more sophisticated Italian examples. Inasmuch as the four Catalan churches in which the peculiar inscriptions occur do not lie far from one another, and as Esterri de Cardós was perhaps the earliest of the three to be painted, and Esterri de Aneu and Burgal were certainly the last to receive their polychromy, it might be conjectured that the custom of the inscriptions was first imported to Esterri de Cardós from a Lombard source and thence spread to the other towns; but the further parallelisms between the frescoes of Galliano and Esterri de Aneu almost compel the belief that the master of the latter monument had experienced direct contact with Lombard art, and that, since the decoration of all four Catalan churches can scarcely have been executed by one man and was probably distributed over a century, there was a rather continuous pictorial tradition of borrowing from Italy. The connection between Lombard and Catalan painting still remains an urgent subject for a thorough investigation, for the similarities are not only iconographic but also stylistic. Although the manner of Catalan painting is, in general, distinct from that of Lombardy and constitutes a separate, national entity, yet the existence of some degree of stylistic relationship cannot be doubted, as, for instance, between the Prophets at Galliano and Esterri de Aneu or between a figure from the ruins of the frescoes of the nave at Galliano and the virgins of Pedret.

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[1] *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana,* I (1863), 47.

It has also been proposed to descry a relationship, at least in the case of the Catalan frescoes, to the Benedictine school of Byzantine painting in southern Italy that emanated in the eleventh century from the monastery of Monte Cassino. When the Byzantine traits are pronounced in Catalan painting, as in the early thirteenth century, an explanation has sometimes been sought in this relationship. The analogy of the apse of S. Angelo in Formis, which was painted under the influence of the masters of Monte Cassino, has already been mentioned; and it is certainly true that Sta. María de Esterri de Aneu, where Byzantine characteristics are ordinarily discerned and where the technique is more developed, was the church of a Benedictine monastery. Yet, at Esterri de Aneu, the better and finer draughtsmanship may be due quite as much to the later date, the thirteenth century, as to Byzantine tuition. The direction the artistic wind was blowing may be indicated still further by the allegorical figure of the Church in the frescoes of Pedret, represented, in a mode that may be paralleled in the illuminations of the *Exultet* rolls which were executed in southern Italy under Benedictine influence, as enthroned upon a miniature basilica; but an admission of acquaintance with the *Exultet* rolls, which were produced from the end of the tenth century through the thirteenth, would at once preclude the early date of the tenth century which has sometimes been claimed for the paintings of Pedret. If the contention of Muns [1] that the church at Pedret was attached to a Benedictine nunnery could be proved, the connection with the Benedictine movement of southern Italy would be rendered more likely, but unfortunately it rests upon no more substantial warrant than a tradition of the region and the identification of walls and a bridge as having possibly belonged to a Benedictine establishment. Pijoán has brought forward certain analogies to the Catalan frescoes in the costumes of mural paintings existing in the region of Rome or between Rome and southern Italy and produced under at least some degree of influence from the Byzantine movement of the south; but both the Italian and Spanish masters may be drawing upon older prototypes without interdependence. Such are the analogous wavy pattern on the dress of the Wise Men of St. Martin de Fenouillar and on the Hippocrates of the lunette of Hippocrates and Galen at Anagni (twelfth or early thirteenth century), and the hats, as of eastern ecclesiastics, worn by the Elders at Fenouillar and on the triumphal arches of S. Elia at Nepi (eleventh century) and of S. Silvestro at Tivoli (about 1100). Very curiously at Fenouillar the glorified Virgin of the end wall and the Magi of the narrative zone display a like headdress. In the case of the celebrated Elders at Anagni, similar hats, taking the place in the same way of the crowns mentioned in the book of Revelation, are oddly poised not on but above the heads. Both in the Italian churches and at Fenouillar the Elders, according to the text of the Apocalypse, carry the "golden vials full of odours." The most significant fact that emerges from these comparisons is that the analogies in iconography and costume are much more arrestingly close and peculiar between Catalonia and all parts of Italy than between the former country and France, and one could not be faulted for proposing the theory that such similarities to French iconography are largely those of the international Romanesque deposit, whereas the Italian parallelisms imply a more direct connection.

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[1] F. Muns, *Sant Quirse de Pedret, Certâmen Catalanista*, 1887, pp. 305–327.

Whatever the truth be, it is a far cry from conceding some knowledge of south-Italian painting in the Catalan masters to the claim that the Spanish frescoes were all executed by Benedictine painters, whether foreign or native. When the frescoes are found in Benedictine establishments, one can hazard the guess that they were the work of monks, and such monks may have been called into service to decorate also secular churches. But we are merely wandering in the field of hypothesis. In any case, one thing seems certain — the painters were not, except possibly in an isolated instance or two, Benedictine monks from other countries. We should have as much right to suppose them French as Italian, when we remember how the reformed Benedictine Order of Cluny had at this time stretched its powerful arms over Spain. But, as a matter of fact, there is the highest probability that they were native Spaniards.

The question of the direct indebtedness of Spain to Byzantium has already been discussed in the paragraphs concerning the general relation of Romanesque painting to the art of Constantinople.

One of the many unsolved problems regarding Spanish Romanesque painting, which lie ready, replete with possibilities, for future investigators, is whether it has any specific connection with German and Scandinavian art of the same period beyond the share of all countries in the general Romanesque stock. Iconographic parallelisms have been noted above, but these do not necessarily imply any direct relationship. William Anderson[1] has discovered a significant likeness in theme between the sculpture on the façade of Sta. María la Real at Sangüesa in Navarre and the wooden carvings from the portal of the church at Hyllestad in Norway, now in the Historical Museum, Oslo. The analogy, if not absolutely conclusive, would constitute in any case an important link of cumulative evidence for demonstrating an immediate acquaintance at least of Spanish Romanesque sculptors with the artistic achievements of the Scandinavians. Among the scenes represented in both places are episodes of a man fighting a dragon and, below it, of a man at work in a forge. The carvings of Hyllestad belong to a group of sculptures found in several of the Norwegian wooden churches representing episodes of the story of Siegfried (in Scandinavian, Sigurd[1]). The scenes of Hyllestad that would appear to be imitated at Sangüesa are Sigurd's slaughter of the dragon on the right jamb of the Norwegian portal and, according to Anderson, his roasting of its heart on the left jamb; but since the man who stands over the forge at Sangüesa has a hammer and a beard and since Sigurd above is beardless, the Sangüesa scene in the smithy would more naturally be taken to represent Regin's forging of the sword for the young hero, who would then be the headless figure watching the process, and there would be a closer correspondence to Hyllestad, where the making and testing of the sword appear directly beneath the fight with the dragon and where also Regin is bearded. Although combats with dragons are common enough in all Romanesque art, the juxtaposition of this scene with that of the forge in both churches seems too peculiar to be merely a coincidence and goes far towards proving that the sculptor of Sangüesa was copying from a Scandinavian source and that some kind of affiliation existed between the Romanesque production of Spain and Scandinavia. Inasmuch as the carvings of Hyllestad and of the other Norwegian churches in which the legend of Sigurd occurs cannot be dated before *c.* 1200 and the latest possible date for Sangüesa appears to be *c.* 1160, both the Spanish and the extant Scandinavian sculptures would have to be supposed to be drawn from earlier Scandinavian prototypes now lost; and it is also to be borne in mind that the master of Sangüesa may have imitated a northern model without realizing that it was the myth of Sigurd that he was carving. Although the myth belongs likewise to German folklore, the source for Spain would have been Norway, where it was the custom to employ this story for the adornment of sacred edifices. The pilgrimage roads afforded ready channels by which such influences, even if merely isolated and not indicative of general tendencies, might travel from one country to another.

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[1] *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap*, Lund, 1926, Häfte 1.

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[1] L. Dietrichson and H. Munthe, *Die Holzbaukunst Norwegens*, Dresden, 1893, pp. 25–27 and 82–83.

Despite these sure or hypothetical foreign influences, the assumption that the Spanish frescoes and panels were executed by foreign hands seems to the present writer wholly unwarranted. Such an assumption must have arisen first in the mind of one who, in the old-fashioned way, looked upon the importance and abundance of Spanish painting as confined to the seventeenth century, who was unfamiliar with the pictorial richness of the peninsula in the whole mediaeval period, who especially was not conversant with the great Spanish school of illumination stretching back even into Pre-Romanesque days, and who, coming upon a few paintings of the Romanesque centuries, because of his limited knowledge could discover no other way to explain them except by the presence of Byzantine, French, or Italian masters. The large amount of Romanesque painting in Spain constitutes proof in itself of a local school, since it is hardly probable that it could have all been carried out by foreign artists. There is no more reason for supposing that Spanish paintings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were done by strangers than in the case of France or Germany. Indeed, the peculiar combination of influences that played upon Spanish art at this time, the local traits that are here being analyzed, the indebtedness to that older Iberian tradition which was embodied in the manuscripts, the not infrequent appearance of the Spanish ethnic type — all these factors are unmistakable manifestations of an indigenous movement. Out of the complexity of component strains there had emerged a clearly marked national style.

It has just been seen that the older pictorial tradition of the Iberian peninsula, preserved to us now, except for a few shreds of frescoes, only in the manuscripts but doubtless then still represented by many more monumental paintings, contributed its quota in giving to the Spanish art of the period its distinctive quality. The earliest extant Spanish illuminations cannot with surety be dated before the eighth century; it is the Beatus manuscripts of the tenth and following centuries that chiefly exhibit parallelisms to Romanesque painting in the large. A dependence upon these models was one of the theories advanced on a former page to explain, at least in part, the striped settings of the Catalan frescoes; and the most thorough student of the Catalan panels, Professor Cook, has even suggested that, in these panels, the use of one color in the background of one scene and of another color in the background of the next was a new adaptation of the striping of backgrounds in the miniatures. The treatment of the background of a single compartment as a checker-board may also be derived from the illuminations. Professor Cook refers to the old Spanish tradition of the manuscripts the restriction of the palette, in the panels, to red, orange, yellow, and green in full intensities combined with black. Blue and white also appear. It is legitimate to wonder, however, whether, if any French Romanesque panels were preserved, they would not have revealed the same predilection for brilliant colors in rather violent contrasts. The color-scheme of the mural paintings both in Catalonia and the rest of Spain, at any rate, is not, as has been claimed, brighter than what we find in France, but is obviously similar to the French practice — very much the same as in the Spanish panels, rather striking, decorative juxtapositions of yellow, blue, brownish red (or sometimes a lighter red), green, black, white, and occasionally violet, a series of shades almost identical with those mentioned by the German monk, Theophilus, in his treatise of the eleventh century on the different arts. The painters, of course, did not always employ all these colors in the same combinations but sought varying harmonies from church to church, imparting to the whole effect now one general tonality, now another. The master of S. Juan de Bohí, for instance, largely, if not completely, excludes blue, and, as at Vicq in France, which presents so many analogies to Bohí, obtains with red, yellow, and grey a moderately hot tonality that may best be described as russet. In addition to the peculiar striped backgrounds, the frescoes now and then resort, as in France, to a creamy white. A curious anomaly in frescoed backgrounds, a checker-board of small squares as in certain antependia, is said to have been once distinguishable in the zone of scenes from the Infancy at S. Martín del Brull and may still be seen at Canigou and (in minuter dimensions) around the mandorla of Our Lord at Fenouillar. Dr. Kuhn informs me that a vestige of a pattern like that of Canigou remains from the frescoes that once decorated the monastery of S. Pedro de Caserras, east of Vich on the river Ter.

It has been asserted that a predilection for Apocalyptic scenes along the nave walls in Catalan churches is to be traced to the vogue of the commentary of Beatus on the Revelation; but it is more than doubtful whether the first premise, of the existence of such a predilection, is sound, for the only certain example of the scenes in the nave is the church of Polinyá, and the other instances that have been claimed are of questionable validity. The later discussion will bring out the fact that there is but little ground for discerning themes from Revelation in Sta. María de Tahull, and the presence of the trite mediaeval theme of the Elders on the side walls of Fenouillar is far from determinative. The Apocalyptic conception of the Pantocrator in the apse or crossing, with the repertoire that accompanies Him, is a universal Romanesque phenomenon, not confined to Spain. The fact, however, that in S. Isidoro of Leon one of the vaults is occupied by the usual Pantocrator and another vault by the same figure surrounded by numerous visionary elements from Revelation constitutes fairly definite proof, at least in this church, of extraordinary Apocalyptic interest. In the subsequent pages will be mentioned a few more or less likely instances of derivation of isolated details from the Beatus manuscripts. Other examples may be found in the dissertation of Dr. Kuhn, who has investigated the relationship between the Catalan Romanesque frescoes and illumination more thoroughly than any of his predecessors or contemporaries; but it is significant that even he discovers the Beatus influence upon mural painting to be comparatively slight.

Dr. Kuhn has conclusively demonstrated that the almost universal technical process of Spanish mural painting in the Romanesque period was a combination of *buon fresco* and *fresco secco*. The general design, consisting of the outlines and expanses of flat color, was applied in *buon fresco*, i. e., painting upon the plaster when it is freshly laid and still wet; and then the finishing, consisting of the definition of the forms and the ultimate refinements, was achieved in *fresco secco*,[1] i. e., painting upon the plaster, after it has been allowed to dry, through remoistening it and mixing with the pigments the attaching constituent of lime-juice. Occasionally *buon fresco* seems to have been employed even for the finishing. The pigments in *buon fresco* become so thoroughly incorporated with the plaster that, when the Catalan frescoes thus executed were detached and transferred to canvas for installation in the Museum of Barcelona, the colors were sometimes found to have sunk through the plaster to the wall underneath. As an exemplification of the pigments' penetration, it was possible to take what would be called in prints a "second impression" of four of the Apostles in the lower zone of the apse of S. Miguel de la Seo and place them beside the originals in the reconstructed apse itself in the Barcelona Museum, i. e., to remove a second layer of the painting, after the first layer had been lifted from the actual apse of the church for reconstituting the fresco in the Museum, and thus to produce but slightly dimmer copies. The fusion of *buon fresco* and *fresco secco* that is used in the majority of Spanish mural paintings appears to have been also the regular custom in France and possibly in the rest of Europe.

Another characteristic of Spanish and especially Catalan Romanesque painting, which perhaps may be viewed as a defect, is its comparative rudeness, when one sets it side by side with the more cultured production of Italy, Germany, and France. With all the modern exaltation of the aesthetic instincts of archaic epochs, especially, today, of the Romanesque period, one must still acknowledge that Romanesque painting as a whole was to a certain extent primitive and technically undeveloped; but the majority of the Spanish frescoes and panels of the time are a little less correct and more uncouth than the average and seem the work of somewhat countrified artists rather than of finished masters. The impression of rudeness is perhaps due in part to that summary execution in the lingering old Latin style which has already been described; but quite as efficient a cause was the fact that, after all, in respect to civilization, Spain was still provincial. In Catalonia, moreover, almost all of the frescoes and panels that have been preserved were ordered by small rural churches, a consideration that helps to explain the undeniable inferiority of the Romanesque painting to the Romanesque sculpture of Spain, which was carved, at least as far as it remains to us, largely for the great monastic establishments. Despite the energy and beauty of Spanish Romanesque sculpture, however, one must not be misled, by the glamour that now surrounds Spanish studies or by the close connection of the peninsula with the rest of Europe through the Way of St. James, into the delusion that it was yet such a vital seat of intellectual and artistic pursuits as Italy, Germany, or France. In all Romanesque art, the ornamental *motifs* are likely to be more accurately and beautifully executed than the human forms, and this is true of Spanish painting as well as of sculpture. The maeander, for instance, which so often becomes a large and conspicuous border in Catalan frescoes, is drawn with much crispness and vigor.

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[1] *Fresco secco*, in which lime-juice is the medium mixed with the pigments, is here distinguished from *fresco a secco*, where the medium is egg, although the latter phrase is often used to cover both processes.

Does this early stage of painting provide us with any instances of the naturalistic trend ascribed to Spanish art, and may we thus discover a final indigenous aspect of the Romanesque school of the peninsula? The results of a search are not very fruitful and fail to bring to light any more examples than are probably to be found in the output of other countries. The most indubitable evidence is afforded by the Catalan frescoes relating to the birth of Christ in the second zone of narrative from the bottom in the principal apse of the church at Barbará. In the Nativity itself the Virgin stretches out her arm towards St. Joseph as if in converse with him, a composition that is approximated a few times here and there in earlier or contemporary European art but can scarcely be actually paralleled. Next, the domestic episode of the bathing of the Child is exalted into a separate and important scene to a more decided degree than elsewhere in Romanesque or previous art. In the sculptured Romanesque façade of Notre Dame la Grande at Poitiers, for instance, the bath, though important, is still within the composition for the Nativity, between the Virgin and St. Joseph; at Barbará it lies without the Nativity altogether, separated from it by a window, and St. Joseph is on the other side of the Virgin from the bath and the window, at the foot of her bed. Finally, in the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the sheep are depicted as eating a tree or shrub, and this whole detail is given an undue prominence. Elsewhere, except at near-lying Polinyá, there is only the merest suggestion of such a thing, the most certain example being in a mosaic of the fifth century in the chapel of S. Aquilino in S. Lorenzo, Milan, where the sheep seem perhaps nibbling at small plants on the ground. These instances of naturalism appear the more intentional because in other sections of the decoration at Barbará, particularly in the staid forms of the shepherds, there seems to be an unusually potent Byzantine influence. The Annunciation to the Shepherds in the related frescoes of Polinyá contains an even more strikingly naturalistic rendering of a goat nibbling a shrub. The theme of the Annunciation to the Shepherds in itself provoked a tendency to *genre*, for the multiplication of pastoral episodes in its representation in S. Isidoro at Leon is not due solely to the desire to expand the subject over the whole vault or to indirect reminiscences of the Early Christian art of Alexandria.

The violence of the representation of the Stoning of St. Stephen on a side wall of S. Juan de Bohí has been called by one critic peculiarly Iberian. If he means by that an early example of the Spanish taste for the gruesome, the scene certainly does prophesy the bloodiness of martyrdoms in the painting of the later Middle Ages and of Ribera; but it might be interpreted likewise as an illustration of a naturalistic tendency to approximate the representation to the grim reality. In a work perhaps produced by the same local school that labored at Bohí, the antependium of Sts. Julitta and Quiricus in the Barcelona Museum, the various stages in the tortures of the two martyrs are appalling enough, unsparing as they are of cruel detail, to have found their place among the wax groups of the old Chambers of Horrors. Another indication of a naturalistic tendency in the decoration of Bohí is perhaps afforded by a curious scene that may still be deciphered among the ruins of the frescoes from the left wall of the nave (Fig. 6) — apparently a representation of three jugglers in what was perhaps the costume of the profession, of which the queerest details are the trousers spreading at the bottom into the shape of a bell and capable of being tightened to the legs by cords or straps when the tricks of the trade so required. Two of them stand on strange pedestals, possibly transportable platforms or small stages. One of the actors is accompanying the performance of the others on a lyre. The second is juggling balls or fruits and a knife. The third acrobat is accomplishing a more perilous feat: he is either poised, head down, on crossed swords, or he is hanging by his knees from a bar, with one sword in his mouth and playing in his hands with two others. In the study of mediaeval art it has often happened that what had been considered mere scenes of *genre* were eventually proved to be parts of a sacred story, and it is Gudiol who has made the brilliant discovery that the jugglers of Bohí are in reality assistants of the elaborate group of musicians who, in the third chapter of the book of Daniel, celebrate "the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up." The discovery was due to his observation that in the Catalan Bible of Roda, illuminated in the eleventh century, III, fol. 64^v,[1] the jugglers were added to the musicians in the representation of this episode and that two of them virtually duplicate the mountebank of Bohí who tosses balls and a knife and the one who upside down plays with swords. Moreover, before the frescoes were removed from Bohí to the Barcelona Museum, in the inscription under this section of the pictures could still be read the Latin word *Preco* (= *Praeco*), namely the herald who, in the fourth verse of the third chapter of Daniel, summons the people to worship the image. It has thus become evident that the painter of Bohí had in mind the miniature in the Bible of Roda or, since he does not appear to imitate the style of this miniaturist, the similar illumination of some other Bible; but an interest in *genre* is none the less revealed in that he follows his prototype in adding the jugglers, who are not mentioned in Holy Writ, to the musicians. It is true that figures and episodes from every-day life are frequent on Romanesque capitals, but they are usually said to occur more commonly in the carving of Catalonia than elsewhere, so that the appearance of this scene at Bohí in painting would keep company with the naturalistic proclivity of the sculpture. Mâle mentions a few instances of tumblers in French Romanesque sculpture,[1] and in Catalonia one of the capitals of the cloister of San Cugat del Vallés, likewise without relation to the story in Daniel, displays another exhibition of street-acrobats, four of whom stand on their heads at the corners.[2] The juggling episode of Bohí is on a par with the hunting episodes that are depicted on the walls of other Spanish Romanesque churches, but the spirit of *genre* is here probably not inspired by Mohammedan precedent. The liveliness and actuality of the Apostles in the Last Supper on one of the vaults in the Panteón de los Reyes at Leon and one or two sacred scenes from S. Baudelio de Berlanga may be set down as further counts on the side of Spanish naturalism. Gertrud Richert would assign to the naturalistic trend the painting of realistic rather than merely decorative fabrics as if hanging from the actual windows of the apse of S. Pedro del Burgal.

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[1] W. Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration*, Tafel 32.

The provincial rusticity of the frescoes sometimes provokes little touches of popular imagination that pleasantly relieve the severity of the traditional iconographic program and may be regarded as a kind of naturalism. The legendary episodes in the lateral compartments of the antependia, in particular, are related with much popular directness, bonhomie, and vivacity, but, since there are virtually no panel paintings of the epoch in other countries with which to compare them, it is impossible to state categorically that they embody a greater Spanish propensity for the naturalistic. We do seem to feel in these scenes from the lives of saints that we are at least a degree or two closer to the heart and thought of the people than in the Romanesque sculpture of the rest of Europe or even of Spain, and yet the simplicity of the naturalism may be due to the fact that the Catalan panels were usually executed for country churches by country craftsmen, who were less immediately under the dominion of the grander artistic traditions of the great centres, who knew enough of these traditions to conform partially to them in the long established theme of the Pantocrator or

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[1] *L'art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*, 313.

[2] Miss King calls my attention to the representation of two dancers on folio 86 of the Silos Beatus in the British Museum, a manuscript illuminated in the early twelfth century.

Virgin of the middle compartment, but who, when they came to the legendary subjects for the sides, often probably were familiar with no iconographic precedent and relied perforce upon their own homely and poignant imaginations. The impression that naturalism was more at work in the panels than in the frescoes is probably a false one, for, since mural paintings are chiefly preserved in apses and vaults where formal and visionary themes were the rule, the extant examples of narrative friezes on lateral walls or beneath the Pantocrator or Virgin of the apse are few, and we thus get the idea that the instances of naturalism were likewise scanty. The martyrdom of St. Stephen at Bohí, the lateral and end walls of Sta. María de Tahull, the scenes from the life of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Tarrasa, and the Last Supper at Leon are enough to prove the contrary. One of the most pronounced specimens of naturalism in the panels is found in the frontal of St. Andrew at Vich and in the painted sides of the same altar in the Museum of Solsona: Miss Richert has pointed out especially the *genre* of the watchman blowing his horn in the tower of the prison to which the Apostle is conducted. In these and other Catalan panels and sometimes also in the frescoes, the naturalism is likely to take the shape of the transformation of low-born or disagreeable personages, such as executioners and devils, into a vulgar type which is repeated again and again from monument to monument and in which ugliness is accentuated, apparently for humorous effect, into what is probably conscious caricature. The sharply obtuse profile, the large eyes, beak-like nose, and pursed lips produce a countenance suggesting that of a rooster. It may be seen at Vich in St. Andrew's tormentors and in the demons who maltreat his persecutor, Aegeas, and in the lateral pieces at Solsona in one of the soldiers who arrest Christ, in a spectator who watches the entry into Jerusalem from a house, and in the head of Herod or a bailiff at the left of the Epiphany. An instance in the frescoes is the bravo who murders St. Thomas à Becket at Tarrasa. How far these faces represent, with exaggeration, an ethnic Catalan type and how far they may be taken as demonstrating a greater Spanish proclivity for naturalism, is a question, for very much, though not exactly, the same sort of physiognomy is sometimes bestowed upon men of the people in the Romanesque art of other countries, for instance in the frescoes on the arches of the portal of the refectory of St. Aubin, Angers. Professor Cook has suggested that the artists, at least of Spain, may have thought of these heads as caricatures of the Moslems.[1] In any case, in many of the other figures of the frescoes and panels the ethnic type is often already unmistakably Spanish, and is particularly apparent in the enthroned Christ at the centre of an apse or an antependium by contrast with the sculptured Saviour of French tympana.

[1] *Art Bulletin,* VIII (1926), 223.

CHAPTER VI

THE CATALAN ROMANESQUE FRESCOES OF THE CHURCHES IN THE PYRENEES

In view of our general discussion of Romanesque painting and its manifestations in Spain, the treatment of the specific monuments may be somewhat abbreviated. Inasmuch as the exact dates of the Catalan frescoes have not been determined or are in dispute, an attempt at a strictly chronological arrangement has not been deemed advisable in this book. The principles adopted for the grouping have been largely those of the geographic contiguity of the churches and of iconographic similarity or difference, and the order in which the groups are considered is based upon such criteria as the importance of the monuments and the amount of painting preserved. With few exceptions, however, this scheme of arrangement has curiously and neatly resulted in an order that follows at least in general the probable chronological development.

1. The Valley of Bohí

The frescoes of the churches in the valley of Bohí (all now in the Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona) are given priority in treatment for several reasons. First, the paintings of one of them, S. Clemente de Tahull, are the only Catalan examples that can be dated (in 1123) with what approximates certainty, thus providing a starting-point for conjectures, through comparison, in regard to the dates of the other frescoes of Catalonia. Second, the pictorial decoration of the other two churches in the region, Sta. María de Tahull and S. Juan de Bohí, was in all probability executed about the same time. Third, since the two churches at Tahull preserve the frescoes of other sections of the building in addition to the main apse and since S. Juan de Bohí, though lacking the apsidal fresco, has retained fragments of the adornment of other parts, the monuments in the valley of Bohí, especially Sta. María de Tahull, reveal to us something of what the whole pictorial embellishment, and not merely the paintings of the apse, must have looked like. Fourth, Sta. María de Tahull may well have the honor of first consideration because its frescoes, particularly those of the apse, represent for us the Catalan Romanesque manner chronologically at the height of its development and in matter of quality at the best of its capabilities without resort to exaggerated stylization or other peculiarities.

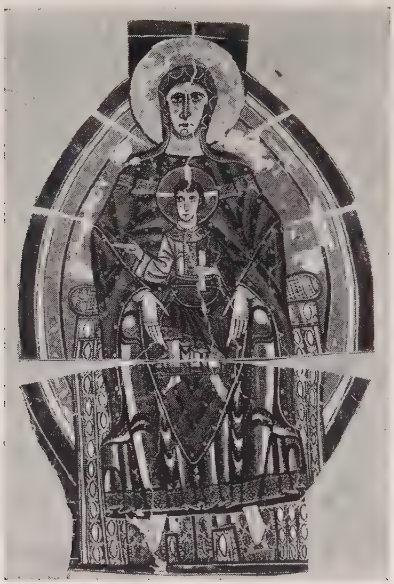

Fig. 2. MADONNA IN SEMIDOME OF APSE, STA. MARÍA DE TAHULL. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Museo de la Ciudadela)

The substitution of the Epiphany for the Pantocrator in the semidome of Sta. María (Fig. 2) has already been mentioned. The Apostles in the zone beneath are here framed in architectural niches. The decorative border under the Apostles, consisting of a *motif* taken from Hispano-Moresque textiles, medallions of fantastic heraldic beasts united by double palmettes, is in this instance so large as to constitute almost a separate zone. Bits of the regular lowest zone of a simulated curtain are still visible. The soffit of the arch of entrance to the apse, which continued the striped background, the border of animals, and the painted curtain of the apse itself, contains at the centre an Agnus Dei and on the right side, which alone is preserved, on a level with the Epiphany of the semidome, a man with the offering of a lamb (Abel?) and on a level with the zone of Apostles an episcopal saint. From the decoration of the triumphal arch there remain (now on the lateral wall at the left of the apse in the Museum), below, a further continuation of the border of beasts and of the painted curtain of the apse, and from the upper zones virtually nothing but four standing figures — an angel with the head of an ox symbolizing St. Luke, then the type of seraph veiled in eyed wings common to Catalan art, thirdly an angel with an eagle's head signifying the Evangelist St. John, and finally, identified by an inscription, Gabriel. It is certain, therefore, that on the destroyed other side of the arch were depicted the two other Evangelists, probably together with two other members of the celestial host. Furthermore, a bit of ornamentation, consisting of the old Sassanian *motif* of confronted peacocks drinking from a vase against a starred background, has been spared to us from the right side of the wall over the entrance to the apse.

Of the frescoes on the lateral walls of the church, the more extensive relics are those of the left (north) wall (now at the right in the Museum),[1] where there are two zones of figures with the usual painted curtain beneath. In the upper row may be distinguished groups of standing mortals and angels, a boat, and someone confronting a beast. Dr. Kuhn ingeniously discovers in the ruins of this zone the story of Elijah and Elisha, interpreting, for instance, a figure holding a cloth as the latter Prophet with the mantle of the former. The lower row begins with another Epiphany, in addition to that of the semidome. The Virgin is here enclosed, not in the ordinary elliptical mandorla, but in an intersection of two ellipses, a not uncommon mediaeval *motif* which has been traced as far back as the Carolingian period but which is found again in monumental Catalan Romanesque painting only in two antependia of the Barcelona Museum. The Epiphany is given a strictly symmetrical composition, as at Barbará, by introducing Herod at the left to balance the Madonna at the right and placing between them the three Kings, one of whom directs his attention to the monarch rather than to Our Lady. The personages of the Epiphany are represented as if in a colonnaded hall, and a column separates them from the next group, an aged masculine saint together with a tonsured figure without a halo who is about to write in a book. If Miss Richert's notion that the scene depicts St. Joseph instructing "the disciple" to set down the history of the Virgin and Child were correct, the author would probably have been distinguished by a nimbus. By "the disciple" she evidently refers to St. John Evangelist, for she considers the enigmatical scenes in the upper zone and the others of the lower as more or less connected with the Apocalypse. The tradition, however, seems to have been that St. Matthew was the Apostle to whom St. Joseph had given his account of the Gospel. Gudiol suggests that the scene depicts Zacharias directing the entering of the young Baptist's name in a book. Separated from this episode by the lateral door of the church and its painted decoration in pure design are the only other figures that are left in the lower row, an angel descending to cense an altar and one unhaloed and one haloed personage, forms that perhaps made up a single scene which is guessed by Folch to be the sacrifice of Melchizedek but which, as a part of the same story as the former episode, might depict the Annunciation of Zacharias.[1] If the latter explanation be correct, it is strange that Zacharias himself, who would have to be the figure with the halo, should not be the closer of the twain to the altar and should not be censing as in St. Luke's account, and that the angel should swing the censer instead of making the announcement. Of the rest of the decoration of the lateral walls, only one other section is extant, probably from the right (south) wall (though now at the left in the Museum),[2] representing, with the utmost mediaeval revelling in grotesque horror, the punishment of the condemned in hell through the torment of engorgement by diabolic monsters of many heads, a favorite infernal *motif* in the art of the Middle Ages perhaps remotely suggested by the episode of the twelfth chapter of Revelation where the seven-headed red dragon attempts to devour the child of the woman clothed with the sun.

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[1] I follow Folch in the disposition of the frescoes; Gudiol places the section here in question on the south wall.

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[1] Gudiol and I arrived at this latter hypothesis separately.

[2] Gudiol places it on the north wall.

In its liturgical Byzantine place on the entrance wall of the church opposite the apse,[1] above and around the door was the Last Judgment, which remains to us in part (on the left wall in the Museum). Except for a bit of the mandorla, the Christ as Judge, over the door, was destroyed by the insertion of a window, but there may still be seen, flanking Him, six figures, at the left a holy personage bearing a cross (St. John Baptist?), another saint pointing the latter out,[2] and an angel, and at the right, between two further angels, a saint whom Gudiol believes to be the Virgin. Below, at the left of the arch of the door, St. Michael, with a holy companion, appears as weigher of souls, and at the right is the Resurrection of the Dead. Folch and Miss Richert interpret the latter scene as the burning of the damned, but the pointed mass out of which they rise does not seem to represent tongues of flame but to be a convention for signifying the earth, and we should expect the Resurrection rather than hell without heaven as a pendant to St. Michael's activity. Moreover, hell and, it is likely, also heaven were depicted on one of the lateral walls as a continuation of the Last Judgment at the end of the church. The tympanum of the door contains a seated, haloed figure who appears to hold two cups and whom Miss Richert, with a tendency to find references to the Apocalypse everywhere in Sta. María, identifies, with doubtful success, as St. John Evangelist. Gudiol perceives, rather, a reference to the two elements of the Eucharist. The entrance wall at the left of the Last Judgment seems to have been reserved, at least in part, for episodes of *genre*. In an upper zone, against a background accented with circles, cups, and forms of birds, there is a dog chasing a deer, or perhaps it is simply two dogs running. In a lower zone is occurring what may be merely another bit of *genre* or, as Folch believes, a representation of a local legend (Fig. 3). Against a banded background, the field of which is partially and arbitrarily filled out by a large bird, one man holds an armored victim by the hair and is about to decapitate him; at the side of this grim group stands a spectator, and above it, as if floating in the air but possibly conceived, with Romanesque neglect of perspective, as behind it, is another heavily mailed warrior. Probably because the victor wears no armor and seems younger, Miss Richert discerns in this scene the fight of David and Goliath, and the

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[1] I follow Folch in placing the Last Judgment on the entrance wall; Gudiol says that it was a part of the decoration on the wall of the nave at the Gospel side.

[2] Gudiol identifies the second figure as the Baptist, but he himself acknowledges that the personage with the cross, whose halo is not cruciform, cannot be the Saviour. Miss King believes that the figure bearing the cross may be the penitent thief, who in the account of the Resurrection in the *Golden Legend* was later to be conceived as appearing with this emblem at the Harrowing of Hell.

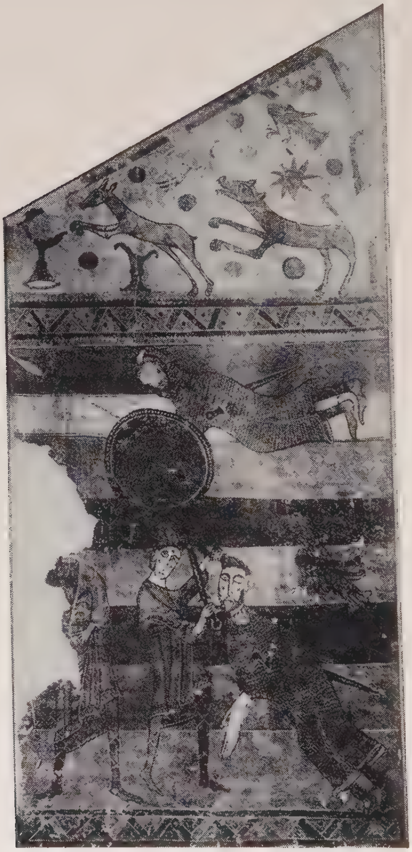

Fig. 3. SECTION OF DECORATION FROM WEST END OF STA. MARÍA DE TAHULL. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Museo de la Ciudadela)

bird may be a vulture waiting for its meal on the giant's flesh. Gudiol guesses that the figure in the air may be another representation of Goliath and that the form at the left of the actual decapitation may be a repeated David, here casting the pebble, so that we should have in this instance an example of the frequent mediaeval practice of bringing several stages of a tale into an undivided space. The soffit of another arch of the church presents us once more with the Agnus Dei at the centre, and from the sides of this arch or other arches are preserved whole lengths of Isaiah and another Prophet or saint and the head of Jeremiah. The cataloguing of the repertoire of subjects in Sta. María de Tahull fails to produce the Apocalyptic material that critics have claimed to discover in this church, except in so far as the Last Judgment may be related to the Apocalypse; but it may sometime prove possible to substantiate what are as yet pure guesses in regard to the interpretation of the enigmatical scenes of the wall on the Gospel side of the nave as having to do with the book of Revelation.

Inasmuch as several students and the author of this book have arrived independently at the opinion that at least two hands were at work upon the frescoes of Sta. María de Tahull, the conclusion is probably justified. The apse, soffit of the arch of entrance to the apse, and the soffit of the triumphal arch appear to have been decorated by a master more skilled and conscious of his art than the craftsman or craftsmen who painted the rest of the building. Inferiority of technical knowledge and draughtsmanship is betrayed particularly in the Last Judgment of the entrance wall and in the fragment of hell. There is, to be sure, some attempt to render emotion through posture in the four figures rising from the dead. It is interesting to discover, at so early a date, a prophecy of Signorelli's great dramatic achievement in the Last Judgment of Orvieto, through a differentiation of the one pair of nudes, who seem to be represented in the rather subtle mood of just recovering consciousness, from the other pair, who gesticulate in already awakened excitement. If, as Folch believes, the scene is the fires of hell, the former pair could be understood as differentiated from the others by their more despondent expression of grief. But the drawing of the nudes, even when the desultory standard of the Middle Ages in rendering the undraped form is taken into account, is of the utmost puerility, as also in the section of the lateral wall depicting beings devoured by infernal monsters, and the superiority of the nudes at San Saturnino de Osormort cannot be explained merely by the lapse of half or three quarters of a century. It is not impossible that the master of the apse worked here and there in other sections of the church, although not about the principal door of entrance, and such may be the meaning of Folch when he suggests that this door may be of slightly more recent construction than the door in the lateral wall on the Gospel side and that therefore the frescoes of the Last Judgment about the principal door belong to a somewhat later and less excellent stratum of painting than those about the lateral entrance. Another solution would be that more than two hands painted in Sta. María.

Miss Richert makes of the master of the apse a slightly inferior imitator of the painter of the apse of S. Clemente in the same town, and she identifies the less gifted master of the other sections of Sta. María with the painter who executed the angels of the left lateral apse of S. Clemente. One may legitimately question any direct connection between the artists of the two principal apses, but the suggestion of the identity between the two less capable painters in the other sections of the churches is more convincing; and in any case it cannot be denied that the ruder paintings of the two churches are very similar in style and were done about the same time. The date of the frescoes in Sta. María, therefore, is linked with that of those in S. Clemente. In the Museum of Barcelona is preserved a painted column from S. Clemente with an inscription to the effect that the church was consecrated on December 10, 1123,[1] and it has been very commonly held that, since the polychromy of the column is a part of the general pictorial decoration of the edifice, the frescoes of the apses and other walls were being executed in 1123 or were already finished. The following objections may be brought against this dating. (1) Nothing proves with certainty that the column was painted and inscribed at the same time as the rest of the (figured) polychromy of the church was carried out. (2) The inscription does not mention the painting but only the consecration, and there is nothing to show that mediaeval churches had to await their polychromy before they could be consecrated. As far as the mere evidence of the inscription goes, the frescoes might have been executed before or after 1123. (3) Although the meagre fragments of painting from other parts of S. Clemente besides the apse scarcely permit definitive judgment, it does seem that a second, more clumsy hand was at work at least in the lateral apse, so that an interval might have elapsed between the frescoing of the divisions of the church, and the date 1123 might apply to either of the two divisions. (4) The extraordinarily elaborate degree to which stylization is carried in the apse of S. Clemente would naturally betoken a late and very sophisticated moment in the development of an art, and it is for this reason that Miss Richert, in distinction from the majority of critics, considers 1123 merely the earliest possible date and assigns the frescoes to the last years of Romanesque art at the end of the twelfth century. To these objections it can be answered, first, in general, that the laws of probability favor a dating of the frescoes in 1123 until conclusive proof is forthcoming to the contrary. Second, in particular, although decisive evidence is lacking, the likelihood is that the column was painted and inscribed at a time when the rest of the painting was being done and that, therefore, the polychromy of the church was complete or being completed in the year of consecration. The question of two hands has little significance, for in dating the mural adornment of any church or chapel, whether by Ghirlandaio or a Romanesque craftsman, it is understood that a definite year is only an approximation to the truth, since the undertaking, because of its extent, of interruptions, or for other reasons, might well cover several years. It is taken for granted that, although the activities of two artists on a monument might easily be separated by more or less than a decade, the given year merely signifies that they worked within or about the period in which the year falls. Nor is the stylization a bar to the early date. The development is by no means always from simplicity to stylization. In Gothic sculpture, if not in painting, a partial schematization in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries followed in sections of France and Flanders, in Germany, and in some other regions of Europe the simplicity of the thirteenth century; but in Greek art and in Italian art of the Renaissance, primitive stylization preceded naturalness. Professor Porter's studies are demonstrating more and more that the evolution of the Romanesque style was less a chronological consistency than had been believed, that the widest variations in manner might occur in different monuments at the same moment, and that what seems like a more primitive work of art was in matter of fact executed many years after one that the eye would judge to be representative of a higher aesthetic evolution and of greater sophistication. It is especially his contention that the period surrounding the year 1125 was one in which Catalan sculpture particularly cultivated stylization before turning later to a larger degree of naturalness, and the apse of S. Clemente would fall in with this understanding of the development as embodying the height of the tendency in painting. With the necessary reservation, then, that we are working only on a likely hypothesis, the frescoes of S. Clemente may be tentatively dated in 1123.

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[1] *Anno ab incarnacione Domini MCXXIII–IIII Idus Decembris*, a date that is confirmed by the act of consecration found in the altar.

It follows that the paintings of Sta. María must be placed at about the same time. The execution of all the frescoes except those of the apsidal end must have been almost synchronous with those of the lateral apse of S. Clemente, and there is no reason for thinking that the decoration of the main apse of Sta. María took place much earlier or later. According to Professor Porter's scheme of Catalan development, the greater stylistic simplicity of the frescoes in the apse of Sta. María would imply that their creation succeeded that of the embellishment of the apse of S. Clemente, and such a chronology would harmonize with Miss Richert's very questionable surmise that the master of the former monument was a pupil of the master of the latter. The general contemporaneousness of the paintings of Sta. María with those of S. Clemente receives additional support from the fact that the former church is proved by the act found in the altar to have been consecrated on December 11, 1123, the day after the consecration of the latter.[1] The act of consecration does not in itself have much weight for dating the frescoes of Sta. María in 1123, because the date is not, as in S. Clemente, inscribed also upon a column decorated with polychromy apparently coincident with that of the rest of the church; but since the painting of S. Clemente had probably been carried out or was being carried out at the time of consecration, it is permissible to guess that the authorities waited for a similar moment to consecrate Sta. María in the same town, and such a mere guess would have at least the force of cumulative evidence when considered in connection with the stylistic parallelisms between the frescoes of the two churches. The dating of the cycle of frescoes in one church, moreover, would tend to confirm that of the frescoes in the other. Catalan painting of the twelfth century exhibits two styles, one more primitive and untutored and the other more proficient and with easier control of its means; and it is logical to place in the first half of the century the frescoes in the churches of the valley of Bohí, which are characterized by the more archaic qualities, as well as the other frescoes and panels that reveal the same or almost the same stage of development.

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[1] Puig y Cadafalch twice contradicts himself in naming the days for the consecration of these churches, as based upon the acts found in the altars. In an article in the *Anuari de l' Institut d' Estudis Catalans*, 1907, p. 128, he states that Sta. María was consecrated on December 11 and S. Clemente on December 12. In his *Arquitectura ro-*

The appeal of the apsidal frescoes of Sta. María lies in the fact that they display to us a phase of the Catalan Romanesque style which is slightly above the average in craftsmanship, especially in the somewhat more correct drawing, but which is honest and straightforward without attempt to solicit attention through mannerism or emotional exaggeration. A high and solemn degree of the usual Romanesque majesty is attained, accentuated here and there by a certain greater breadth and solidity of the forms which may well be an expression of the Latin tradition. As one of the indications of a relationship to the art of southern France, which are always cropping forth in Spanish Romanesque painting, we may take the appearance, in the apse but especially in a pronounced form in the Last Judgment, of the agitation of the garment's edge in an artificial spiral or scroll, the

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mànica a Catalunya, III, 76, he gives December 10 for S. Clemente and December 12 for Sta. María; and on the next page of the same work he says that Sta. María was consecrated the day before S. Clemente! The inscription on the column proves December 10 the right day for S. Clemente, and Pijoán's assertion in his publication of the frescoes for the Institute (*Les pintures murals catalanes,* 30) that Sta. María was consecrated on December 11 is probably the correct one. In any case, it makes no difference to our argument whether Sta. María was consecrated one or two days before or after.

so-called "flying fold" frequently encountered in the sculpture of Languedoc and perhaps thither imported from Anglo-Saxon miniatures. In this and numerous Spanish pictorial monuments of the twelfth century, many of the other folds curiously assume, as Professor Porter has pointed out,[1] the appearance of rigid strips of wood. The frescoes have the additional interest of incorporating evidence of the indigenous strain in borrowings from the art of the Moors. Allusion has already been made to the unusual prominence of the apsidal border with medallions of beasts derived from Mohammedan textiles, and it has been seen on a former page that such scenes as the hunt on the west wall are probably to be interpreted as signs of the proximity of a Moorish civilization. The confronted peacocks may likewise be derived from Mussulman art, whither they had entered from their long existence in the decorative repertoire of the Orient, or they may be imported less immediately from the East, i. e., via their absorption into Early Christian symbolism as tokens of immortality. Not much force as evidence can be attached to the presence of a purely ornamental Arabic inscription on the wall above the entrance to the apse, for Arabic lettering, because of its decorative beauty, was used even in later times in the painting of other countries that had no direct contact with the Mohammedans.

In all probability only the apses of S. Clemente were embellished with figured frescoes, and to the other walls was assigned a polychromy of pure design. In the semidome of the main apse the chief iconographic interest lies in the ingenuity with which the very conscious artist has broken with the monotony of the threadbare *motif* of the symbols of the Evangelists surrounding the Pantocrator. It was not uncommon, to be sure, in Romanesque iconography for angels to hold the symbols of the Evangelists, and here, as at St. Martin de Fenouillar, one angel beside Christ carries St. John's eagle, and St. Matthew is represented on the other side merely by an angel with a book. The originality consists in the way in which the two other symbols are presented. They are not made mere repetitions of the signs of Sts. John and Matthew but are relegated, in smaller compass, to medallions at either end of the lowest stripe of the background of the semidome. Next to each of them, towards the centre, are two medallions identical with those of Sts. Mark and Luke and containing the figures of angels, who perform the double office of supporting the contiguous Evangelistic symbols and of pointing out and worshipping the Pantocrator. The former office the master has both cleverly and naïvely adapted to his idea for the arrangement of the semidome. He has felt it incumbent upon himself to continue the mode of exhibiting the symbols through the agency of angels that he had begun in the case of Sts. John and Matthew, but at the same time he wishes to break the monotony of the ordinary presentation and to carry out his new compositional scheme of a series of medallions. The two angels in the medallions therefore conform to the letter of the law in a merely ritualistic grasp upon the two beasts, one of them holding the lion by a leg and the other the ox by the tail! These gestures sound the popular note almost of rustic humor that is encountered not infrequently in the creations of the country craftsmen of Catalonia. A scheme of composition is thus attained which, while maintaining the exact symmetry desired for the formality of an apsidal group, constitutes a new and pleasant invention. The lowest band of striping is made interesting by the adornment of four medallions, the pairs of which not only are pendants to each other but make a balance of two small figures to each of the larger Evangelistic angels who above are stretched over the space of two stripes. The composition is completed, at the extreme right and left, by two of the characteristic Catalan seraphim clothed in eyed wings, who serve to unite the lower and upper sections of the semidome by the extension of their bodies over the lowest and the second stripes.

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[1] *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture* (English edition), II, 15.

Amidst the Apostles in the zone beneath the semidome appears the Virgin holding a cup which has been tentatively explained as the Holy Grail because Montserrat in Catalonia is connected with this legend and because the vessel seems to be filled with the Sacred Blood emitting miraculous rays (Fig. 4). She bears this cup, though never of the same shape, in all of the Catalan frescoes in which she is introduced into the zone of Apostles except at S. Miguel de la Seo. At Sta. Eulalia de

Estahón and S. Pedro del Burgal it casts forth the same red rays but not at Ginestarre or Argolell. If it were not for the red contents and the rays, the cup might be interpreted as identical with the vases frequently carried by other saints in the Catalan frescoes, whatever be their significance as attributes, whether as containers of the relics of the saints kept beneath the altar or possessing some as yet undiscovered symbolism. In cases where the blood and rays do not appear, the cup of the Virgin may mean nothing more than when carried by other sacred personages, but it is to be remembered that one of the proofs advanced for her Assumption is the absence of any claims to her bodily relics in the churches of Christendom. Gudiol elucidates the vessel as one of the "golden vials full of odours (or incense), which are the prayers of the saints," mentioned in the fifth chapter of Revelation, understanding that the rays are the incense. It would thus have the same significance as the cups held by other saints, but the fact that the red color and the rays are confined to the Virgin's specimen would be left unexplained. The ensconcing of the Apostles and Virgin in an arcade in S. Clemente as in Sta. María is one of the factors that led Miss Richert to postulate a stylistic connection between

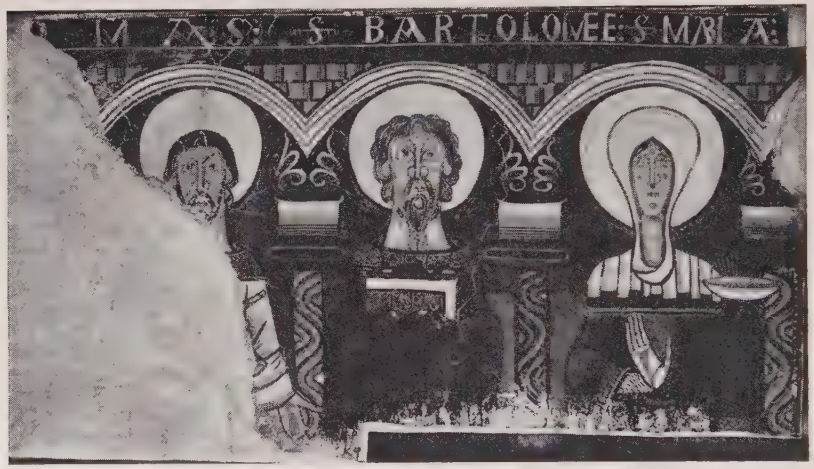
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FIG. 4. SECTION OF ZONE OF SAINTS FROM APSE OF S. CLEMENTE DE TAHULL. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Museo de la Ciudadela)

the two apses. On the soffit of the arch that formed an entrance to the apse may still be discerned at the centre the blessing Hand of God, and from the top of the soffit of the larger arch in front of this a medallion is extant, depicting the seven-eyed Lamb of the fifth chapter of Revelation. From the lower sections of the embellishment of this triumphal arch there remain two almost effaced figures, and then, better preserved, Lazarus of the parable or Job, afflicted with sores that are licked by a dog, and a personage seated in slumber or distress, who, if the pendant be really Lazarus, may be the rich man in hell but in whom Gudiol sees the sleeping Jacob. The interpretation of the man with the dog (Fig. 5) as Lazarus is probably correct, for there is no mention of a dog as Job's companion, the artist has taken pains to depict a door at the left, which would be the gate of Dives at which the beggar was laid, and above the scene

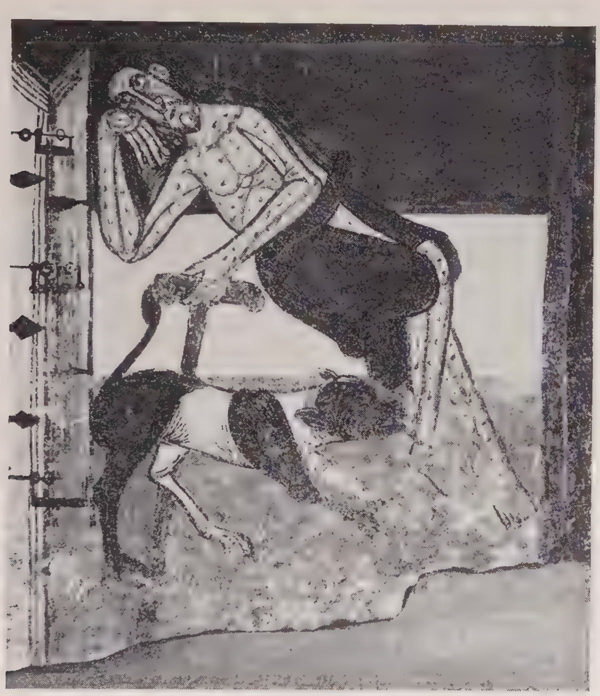

Fig. 5. LAZARUS, S. CLEMENTE DE TAHULL. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Museo de la Ciudadela)

are the two blurred forms that may be the angels transporting his soul to Abraham's bosom. Gudiol states, moreover, that the inscription *Latzarus* was once legible. The parable occurs in the frescoes at Vicq and at Poncé in France, in the sculptured porches of Moissac and of S. Vicente, Avila, in the carvings on the façade of Argenton-Château, and in the early Gothic frescoes of S. Martín de Mondoñedo in Galicia. The paintings on this arch of S. Clemente are probably by the master of the apse. The half-nude of Lazarus's body, though little more, in the Romanesque manner, than an arbitrary suggestion of an undraped figure, is more carefully and correctly done than the nudes of Sta. María; and the drawing of the dog, both in form and posture, is quite surprisingly faithful to actuality, a superiority that is particularly apparent again by comparison with the hounds depicted in the sister church. The figures of Lazarus and the dog are, of course, less distinguished technically than the frescoes of the apse itself, where the artist had a long established tradition upon which to base himself, but, since they may well have been produced by this very artist, they constitute a warning against the practice of attributing paintings to other hands simply because they chance to be somewhat inferior. In Romanesque art, inferiority may be due, as possibly in S. Clemente, to the essaying of a theme for which there was less precedent. Largely untrammelled by the past, the master abandons the stylization of the apse and gives us one of those touches of his own rustic imagination that are always enlivening the Catalan frescoes and panels, delineating a beggar leaning upon his crutch and with even more convincing naturalism the posture of a dog licking the sores. Mention has already been made of the more or less fragmentary forms of angels that adorned the subsidiary apse on the Gospel side of the church.

The date of the frescoes has been discussed above, as well as the stylization, which seems consciously carried even beyond the ordinary degree of Romanesque art, as in the French sculptured tympana at Moissac and Autun, and detracts from the sincerity of the expression. The stylization takes the direction especially of an excessive elegance and of an elaborate schematization of heads and draperies. The countenance is laid out in the most obvious geometrical figures, the halves of which are made to conform to the absolute symmetry that is everywhere sought in the frescoes. The draperies too, as in the wimple of the Virgin, are likely to assume geometric shapes. The regular alternation of blocks of green and white across the body of the dog reveals that even the color was more highly conventionalized than usual. The stylization is not quite so apparent in the angels of the secondary apse, where probably another hand was at work. In the main apse of S. Clemente the technique is still finer than in Sta. María and the preservation better, especially for the color.

Pending further evidence, the frescoes of S. Juan[1] de Bohí may for several reasons be dated in the first quarter of the twelfth century. In the first place, the church itself is of the same architectural type as S. Clemente and Sta. María de Tahull. Second, though differing widely in style, the paintings represent about the same stage of Romanesque development — not, as we have seen, a conclusive argument but yet having some force. Third, there are salient analogies to the frescoes at Vicq in France, which Mr. Webber assigns to 1115. The destruction of the original apse has left us only fragments of the pictorial decoration of the nave walls and of a portal, although bits of the polychrome embellishment over the entrance to the apse remain, consisting of ornamental borders and heads of animals. To the Stoning of St. Stephen and the performance of jugglers on the left wall (Fig. 6) reference has already been made. On the other side of a window from the jugglers are two elongated figures of haloed personages and other bits that may well belong to the story of Nebuchadnezzar's image in which the mountebanks are actors. It is not necessary to stop and mention one by one the few almost effaced or fragmentary forms of human beings, but we may restrict the catalogue of the repertoire to the following pieces from the lateral walls and the wall opposite the apse. A prostrate nude oppressed by a clawed leg, probably a bit from a representation of hell, and the same enigmatical boat that appears in Sta. María de Tahull suggest that the cycles of themes in both churches were to a certain extent similar. Dr. Kuhn divines that the boat, here

[1] Not Sta. María de Bohí, as it has usually been styled.

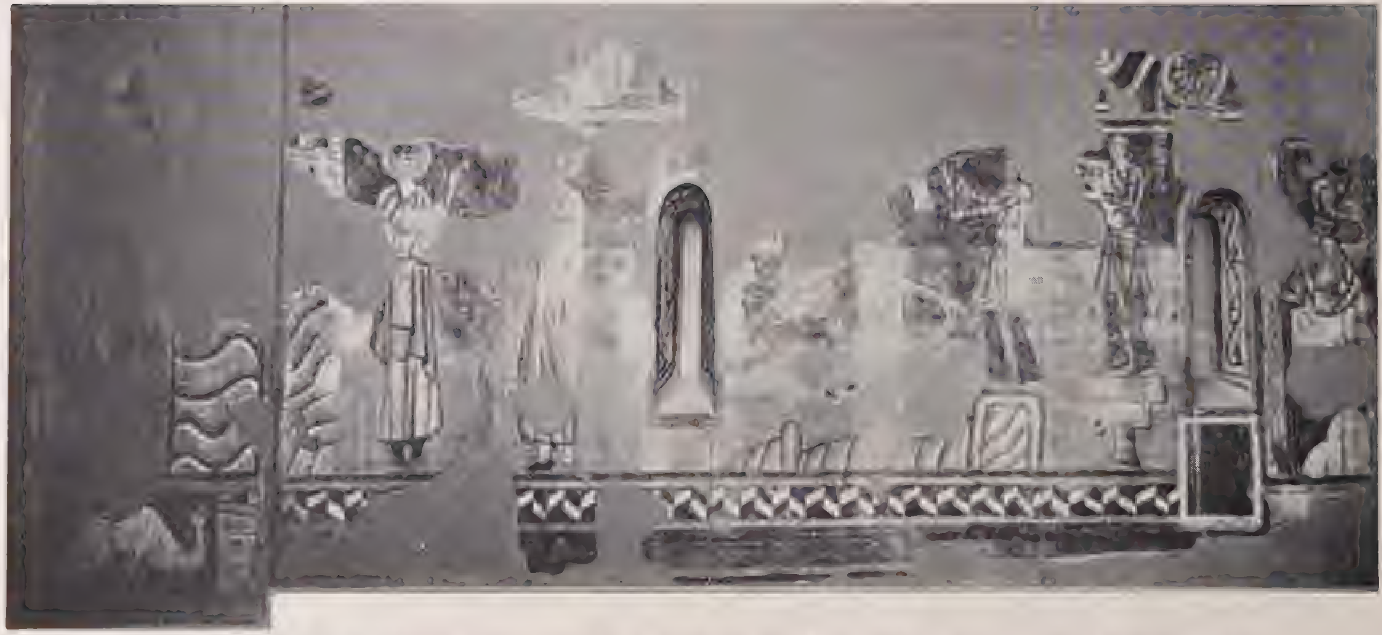

FIG. 6. DECORATION OF GOSPEL SIDE OF NAVE, S. JUAN DE BOHÍ. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Museo de la Ciudadela)

containing three personages, may be Noah's ark, and that a fragment from the west wall, depicting a man with a bird, may represent Noah sending forth the dove. The only other significant remains are forms of characteristic Romanesque beasts or monsters, employed, as at S. Pedro de Arlanza in Castile, both for principal subjects and for ornamental *motifs* in a frieze, and perhaps derived in part from the Beatus manuscripts and from the decorative animals of Coptic frescoes. The most interesting of the monsters is a large prodigy of an animal holding in its mouth a fleur-de-lis and possessing a tail that ends in a head similar to that upon its neck. Since there are what appear to be six eyes upon its back and a seventh has possibly disappeared, Miss Richert plausibly identifies it with the Lamb of the fifth chapter of Revelation, which we have also encountered in S. Clemente de Tahull; but if it is the Lamb, it is transmuted by the element of the fantastic in the Romanesque imagination and becomes at least in part merely decorative. The patterns on the back that have been interpreted as eyes may after all be only the natural spots on the skin, and the beast would then be wholly a decorative figure. Another large monster with its tail wound around its body and head can scarcely be aught else but purely ornamental. On a rather large frieze is an animal which has usually been called a camel because of its hump and long neck and which has therefore been seized upon as an example of Moorish influence; but, since next to it is a fragment of what is plainly one of the weird, imaginary beasts of the Romanesque repertoire and since it looks quite as much like a prehistoric monster as a camel, it may perfectly well be merely another creation of the grotesque mediaeval fancy. At any rate, an animal that is not prodigious remains from another section of the church, a cock in the centre of the interior tympanum of the portal, again, like the dog of S. Clemente de Tahull, delineated with unexpected naturalism. Whether or not it was meant to be St. Peter's rooster, it is impossible to say. The embellishment of this portal on the exterior, originally protected by the roof of a narthex, is also still left in dim outline and color (admitting blue in distinction from the previously analyzed chromatic scheme of the interior of the church itself), and the door now serves as a passage-way in the Museum between Sala I and Sala II. Above the arch is a circular glory that contained the monogram of Christ, supported by angels; and it is still possible to distinguish faintly at the sides of the arch a single saint at the left and another at the right accompanied by one or two other personages. Gudiol vouchsafes the guess that we have here the Evangelists; Miss Richert questionably denominates the two principal figures as Sts. Peter and Paul.

With the possible exception of the portal all the frescoes of S. Juan de Bohí may be ascribed to the same hand.[1] Everyone has noticed in this hand a style which varies decidedly from that of the other Catalan frescoes. Its distinctive quality is its vigor. This vigor expresses itself, first, in the violence of the postures both of St. Stephen and his executioners, which, however, succeeds, by the force that underlies the gestures, in transmitting a real effect of movement that is rare in Romanesque art. The combination of primitive inability and stiffness with the endeavor to depict high animation makes the figures look as if they were mechanically jerked manikins. Vigor expresses itself also in the firm, energetic, and decisive lines of the drawing. One of the reasons that the black lines which, as usual in Romanesque mural technique, are used to define the forms, make an extraordinarily virile and powerful effect is that they are both heavier and darker than the wont. Certain scholars have recognized in the style of Bohí a close and undeniable similarity to that of the frescoes of Vicq in France. Not only is there the same spirit of energy and violence, but the analogy extends even to the type of figure, the disjointed way in which the limbs are attached to the body, the curious folds of drapery, and, as we have seen, the exclusion of blue from the gamut of color and the limitation of the tonality to a warm russet. Professor Porter even believes that the paintings at Vicq were executed by a Catalan painter; and whether or not we go to this length in definiteness, it must be acknowledged that the frescoes of Bohí and Vicq constitute one of the solidest links in the chain that unites the Romanesque art of Spain and France.

Nor can it be doubted that the master of Bohí was familiar with Byzantine models of some sort, although he so transforms them in the crucible of his own fresh and lusty western imagination that their ultimate Byzantine derivation has little or no significance for the final aesthetic impression. He has Byzantine precedent for the type of head but he fashions this precedent into something quite new and individual. The elongation of the forms is also symptomatic. An acquaintance with Byzantine art would appear to be definitely proved by the still vaguely seen inscription written vertically behind the second executioner, no matter which of several problematic interpretations is chosen. The inscription has been read as the Greek name Theodore in Greek letters; but before proceeding to a discussion of the epigraphy and of the possible significance of the name, the caution should be given that the letters have so far faded as no longer surely to be identified and that therefore the present argument must be based upon the evidence of scholars who were once able to decipher the name clearly (i. e., evidence at second hand, always unsatisfactory, however great the discernment and integrity of those upon whom one is thus forced to depend). The name has been taken by some for the signature of the artist, and it has been assumed that he was a Byzantine; but the style, though it reveals some knowledge of the art of Constantinople, is indubitably that of a man long trained in western aesthetic traditions, and, if he were a Byzantine even by birth, he would not have made the mistake of writing the first letter of his name T instead of Θ. He runs together the first two letters of the name and again the delta and omega (if it is not an error of an omicron for an omega). Nevertheless, even if examples of Catalonians of the twelfth century called Theodore could be adduced, the Greek ending *os* for the name and the lunated form of the sigma (*c*) prove that it is a Greek word and not the signature of a native master. Nor is there any record that one of St. Stephen's executioners was entitled Theodore. If, then, it is the name neither of an executioner nor of the artist, we are obliged, unless future investigation shall bring forward a more plausible explanation, to fall back upon the clever suggestion of Pijoán,[1] which is once more indicative of a connection with Byzantine art. In the Byzantine Menologium of Basil II[2] (of the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century), the page with the miniature of the Stoning of St. Stephen is directly followed by two pages with the standing figures of St. Theodore Graptus and St. Theodore, archbishop of Constantinople, the reason being that in this Menologium the feast of St. Stephen is assigned to December 27 and the feasts of the two Sts. Theodore to the next day.[1] Pijoán therefore surmises that the master of Bohí inadvertently (or perhaps consciously in order to air a bit of borrowed learning) copied the name Theodore from one of the next pages of the Menologium of Basil II or from some other Greek manuscript of the same kind. It could scarcely have been the Menologium of Basil II, for the Greek for Theodore there occurs in both headings in the genitive and not, as at Bohí, in the nominative, and, even if he was using another menologium, it is certainly curious that he should have been erudite enough to know that in the Greek Θ there was the sound of the letter T and yet should have been stupid enough to put down T instead of Θ. Moreover, the Stoning of St. Stephen at Bohí conforms only in such very general outlines to the composition of the Menologium of Basil II that it does not constitute evidence for the employment of this particular manuscript. The appearance of the name Theodore in Greek thus demonstrates nothing more exact than some vague sort of an as yet undefined relationship to the Byzantine tradition.

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[1] Dr. Kuhn distinguishes three hands, one on the south wall, one on the north, and a third on the portal.

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[1] *Les pintures murals catalanes*, 33.

[2] Published, with reproductions, at Turin, 1907, *Il Menologio di Basilio II.*

If the connection with the composition of the Menologium of Basil II is questionable, even more so is Pijoán's attempt to discern an affiliation with the representation of the same subject in the upper left compartment of the late Romanesque antependium in S. Esteban at Guils near Puigcerdá on the French border. The only analogy of any significance whatsoever is that there are three executioners, but this is not enough to prove any relationship with the weak and rather spiritless frontal, in which the grouping and gestures of the stoners are different from those of Bohí.

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[1] In the usual calendar of the eastern church the feasts of St. Stephen and of St. Theodore Graptus both fall on December 27. Pijoán mentions only one St. Theodore in the Menologium of Basil II, and he fails to state which of the many Sts. Theodore it is, so that one would assume that he was referring to the famous saint of this name, the military martyr, who is neither Theodore Graptus nor Theodore of Constantinople.

2. La Seo de Urgel and the Adjoining District

Of about the same period as the paintings in the valley of Bohí are the frescoes (in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona) that remain from the apses of S. Miguel de la Seo at La Seo de Urgel and of S. Miguel de Angulasters, two churches situated at a not great distance from each other, the latter in Andorra. The paintings of the former church, however, should possibly be dated, as we shall see, slightly later in the century than the monuments of Tahull and Bohí. The sadly effaced semidome of S. Miguel de la Seo displays merely a huge figure of the Pantocrator surrounded by the Evangelistic signs which are not supported by angels (Fig. 7). In the better preserved zone of Apostles, around the central window appear the Virgin and the saint to whom until the fourteenth century the church seems to have been solely dedicated, Peter. Pijoán was once able to read enough of the faded inscription between the zone of Apostles and the maeander that frames the semidome at the bottom to discover that it probably refers to the Judgment and thus supplies additional evidence that the Pantocrator in the apses was conceived as Christ at his Last Coming. The figure of the Pantocrator is superior in drawing to the forms in the lower zone of S. Miguel de la Seo and to those of the semidomes of Sta. María de Tahull and even S. Clemente. Both He and the Apostles and Virgin are less broadly monumental than the figures in the apse of Sta. María, but they have the compensation of being less stylized than the productions of S. Clemente. In carefulness and delicacy of delineation the Pantocrator of S. Miguel de la Seo is the closest Catalan approximation, in the twelfth century, to the achievements of French frescoists, but it is difficult, with Miss Richert, to see any connection with the Christ of the tympanum of Moissac, except in so far as a general relation existed between the sculptural decoration of French tympana and of Catalan apses. The "flying fold" of Languedoc that appears at the right of Christ both at Moissac and in S. Miguel de la Seo (as well as on the St. Peter of the zone below) is too common an element of French and Spanish Romanesque art to have any force as evidence. Dr. Kuhn has pointed out more persuasive stylistic analogies to the Annun-

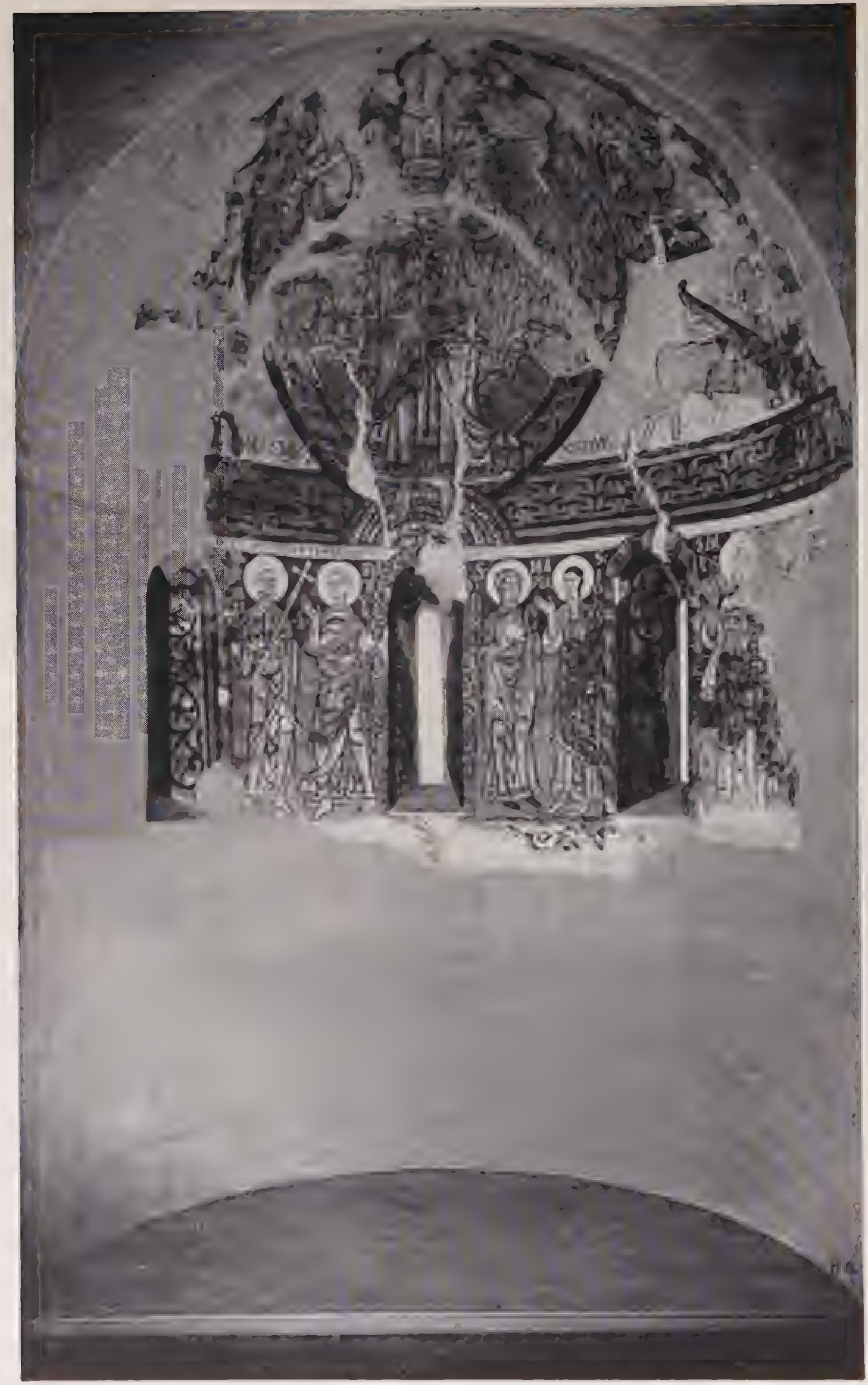

FIG. 7. APSE OF S. MIGUEL DE LA SEO. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Museo de la Ciudadela)

ciation and Visitation of the Moissac portal and to the tympanum of Cahors. The advanced technique of the Pantocrator may indicate a date somewhat posterior to that of the frescoes in the valley of Bohí, perhaps as late as towards 1150,[1] and the composition in the zone of the Apostles, if it was not a matter of personal initiative, may be interpreted as providing further evidence of slightly greater maturity of Romanesque development. The Apostles and the Virgin are represented in groups of two and at the ends perhaps originally of three turning towards one another as if in converse, attitudes for which there was precedent on the Early Christian sarcophagi, in Carolingian ivories, and even in the Beatus manuscripts [2] but which apparently were not evolved in the sculptured assemblages of Apostles on the jambs of portals, so far as the evidence of the extant monuments goes, until the middle [3] and second half of the twelfth century in the Romanesque period and did not become the rule until the Gothic period. A similar abandonment of bald frontality in the zone of Apostles is achieved in the frescoes of Sta. María de Mur, which have been dated for other reasons at least as late as 1150. Dr. Kuhn has suggested that the agitated Apostles, in the apses in which they occur, may embody a retention of this detail from the Syrio-Palestinian composition for the Ascension, the sacred theme in which all the iconography for this section of the church may have partly had its origin. It is even possible that the master of S. Miguel de la Seo has had the hardihood to anticipate Signorelli in the sacristy at Loreto by introducing the movement of walking into the zone of Apostles, as, for instance, in the St. Peter.

In the frescoes of the apse of S. Miguel de Angulasters, which, as far as our present knowledge goes, may be dated about the time of those of the churches of Tahull, it is necessary to note only certain iconographic and compositional peculiarities. Whereas in the Evangelistic symbols around the Pantocrator

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[1] I note that Gudiol and Kuhn have come to the same conclusion separately from me.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. C. M. S. Niver for indicating the analogy of the pairs of conversing saints (not Apostles, except St. John) in the Beatus manuscript of St. Sever (eleventh century).

[3] For instance, in the Apostles, of about the year 1145, from a portal of the chapter-house of the church of St. Etienne, Toulouse, now in the Museum of that city.

Sts. Matthew and John are represented by large separate forms of an angel and an eagle, for the lion of St. Mark and the ox of St. Luke, somewhat as in S. Clemente de Tahull, the other mode is followed of medallions upheld by angels. St. Matthew's angel is strangely metamorphosed into the archangel St. Michael, probably because of the dedication of the church. In the zone of Apostles five out of an original series of seven are preserved. The medallion of the Lamb on the soffit of the arch of entrance to the apse is supported by two full-length figures, which cannot now be certainly identified but are possibly angels; and beneath, further sacred personages, perhaps other Apostles, curiously appear merely as half-lengths or busts.

From the parish church of the hamlet of Argolell, north of La Seo de Urgel, on the border of Andorra in this same region come the fragments of the decoration of an apse in the Plandiura Collection at Barcelona, but their nearest stylistic analogue is met in the frescoes from Ginestarre in the not distant valley of Cardós. The fragments, as now arranged in the Collection, are three, two sections from a series of saints in the zone beneath the semidome and a lovely piece of pure design from the embrasure of a window. The most extensively preserved section (Fig. 8) displays Sts. Paul, John Evangelist, and Philip, recognizable by the accompanying and partially obliterated inscriptions. The second and more seriously truncated and injured section preserves the upper parts of two more Apostles and of the Virgin. St. Paul carries a book on which the words VAX (*sic*) . . . ST MIHI are still fairly legible, the remains of the favorite mediaeval description of the Apostle to the Gentiles in Acts ix, 15, *Vas electionis est mihi;* the Virgin bears the mysterious cup. The figures have the expressive uplifted hands that are the norm in the Catalan frescoes. The background is striped, and, exactly as at Ginestarre, the second band from the top is yellow in color and very broad. At the left of St. Paul the narrow upper and (originally) blue band changes to red. On this blue band, the haloes are alternately red and yellow according to the customary simple Catalan schemes of decorative polychromy. The analogies to Ginestarre are not only stylistic but also iconographic, for the Virgin, of much the same character as at Ginestarre, is added to the Apostolate, and her rayless cup is somewhat similar in shape. The stylistic parallelism to Ginestarre (and therefore, to a less extent, to Esterri de Cardós) is clearly perceptible, and yet the hand is scarcely the same. Among a number of variations in the delineation of the countenance, for instance, the two bulbs at the sides of the nose are not so evident as at Ginestarre or as in many other Catalan frescoes. The curious convention of vertical lines at the centre of the coiffure of Sts. John and Philip may be duplicated on the St. Peter of Ginestarre and indeed in other Catalan mural paintings, for example in the infant Christ of the semidome of Sta. María de Tahull. The slurring over of the drawing of the ear through a few linear strokes is also not without parallel in Catalan Romanesque painting, but in the head of St. Paul the craftsman indulges himself in rather exaggerated tricks of stylization, twisting the lock at the centre of his brow into a sort of pigtail, leaving the other half of the pate perfectly bare, and (as, in a less extreme form, the author of the St. Paul in the apse of S. Pedro del Burgal) rigidly scalloping the outline of the beard and fashioning it into three sharp points. The necks are

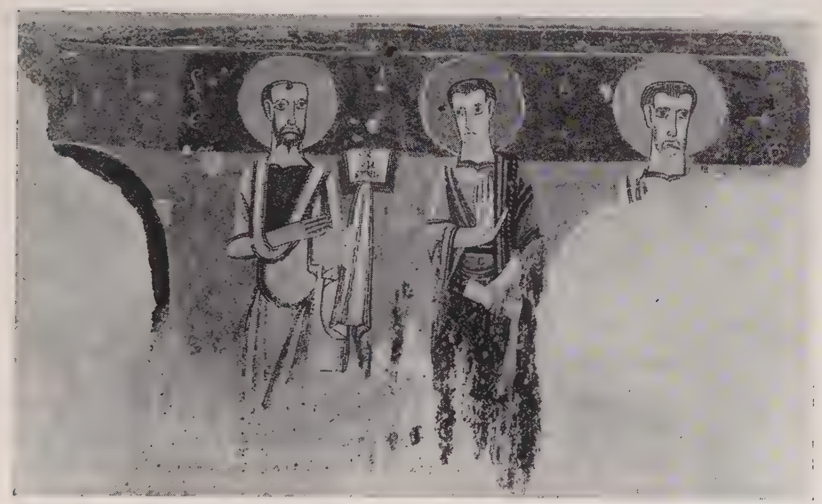

Fig. 8. SECTION OF ZONE OF SAINTS FROM APSE OF ARGOLELL. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

perhaps more monstrously goitered than was the Catalan wont at the period, and in general the technique is possibly more countrified even than that of Ginestarre. As in the case of Ginestarre, however, I do not feel in this rudeness a deteriorated aspect of a more sophisticated manner, and I should prefer to explain it by the undeveloped condition of the art of painting and hence to attribute the frescoes to the very beginning of the twelfth century. The execution of the less skilled sections of Sta. María de Tahull is quite as uncouth but may be due in part to the difficulty of the themes, whereas in the hackneyed subject of the row of Apostles at Argolell and Ginestarre more competent workmanship would be expected even from a rustic artist if the paintings had been done later in the century.[1]

To the same style and date as the Argolell cycle belong the frescoes in the apse of the church of Santa Coloma de Andorra just beyond the border on the road from La Seo de Urgel to the capital. They are as yet almost completely covered with whitewash, and the only emerging bits that can be identified are on the barrel vault now within the section of the apse set aside as a sacristy, part of the head and bust of one saint and a piece of the halo of another. The column that separates the two forms shows that they were depicted in the compartments of a simulated arcade.

3. The Valley of Cardós

The frescoes in the valley of Cardós, which lies next to Andorra towards the west, have all now been transferred to the Barcelona Museum. Those that are preserved from the apse of Ginestarre exhibit much the same iconographic program as S. Miguel de Angulasters, except that the signs of the Evangelists surround the Saviour in their simple form without angels to uphold them, and the Virgin (with the rayless cup) (Fig. 9) and perhaps the Baptist[2] have joined the Apostles below. The embrasure of the window that divides the zone of Apostles also bears, as frequently in Catalonia, polychrome decoration, a *motif* as of an open fan on the soffit of the arch, which is the regular ornamental element for this place, and on the jambs a charming floral *motif*, for which figured embellishment was sometimes substituted. Remains of the third zone of the simulated hanging may still be detected. The style is somewhat ruder than the average but has the compensation of an almost fierce, primitive power. Miss Richert interprets the rudeness as decadence and assigns the frescoes to the end of the twelfth century, but it has about it rather a feeling of youthful and as yet untutored force, so that the paintings should be dated, if anything, somewhat earlier than the cycles in the valley of Bohí.

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[1] Professor Cook assigns the frescoes of Argolell to as late a date as the thirteenth century.

[2] Gudiol interprets this figure merely as another Apostle.

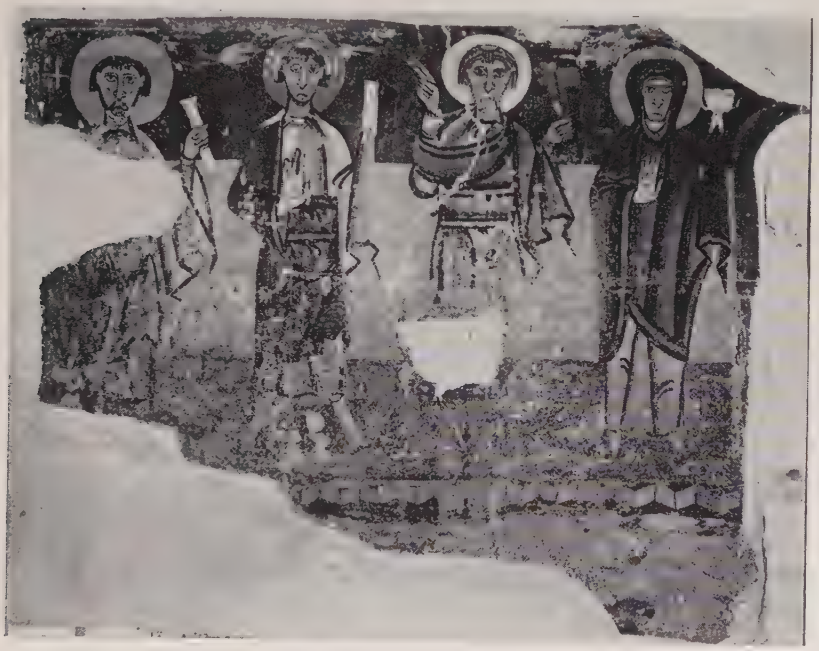

Fig. 9. SECTION OF ZONE OF SAINTS FROM APSE OF GINESTARRE. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Museo de la Ciudadela)

The monuments in the valley of Cardós are linked together by the stylistic similarities of Ginestarre and Esterri (now Ribera) de Cardós and by the iconographic analogies and Byzantine influence in the case of Esterri de Cardós and Sta. Eulalia de

Estahón. In the semidomes of all three churches, moreover, the Evangelists are figured in the same way: the angel of St. Matthew and the eagle of St. John are ensconced in the upper section, whereas the lion of St. Mark and the ox of St. Luke protrude as huge beasts from under the mandorla, the lion resembling rather a fierce bear. Although the drawing at Esterri de Cardós (Fig. 10) is less primitive and the spirit less bluff than at Ginestarre, yet the manner of delineating the heads, especially the almost triangular shape of the faces with oblique lines narrowing well-nigh to a point at the chin, shows that both pictorial cycles were produced by the same regional school. If the frescoes of Ginestarre may be placed somewhat earlier than the series at Tahull, those of Esterri de Cardós may be dated about the same time as the monuments in the valley of Bohí, i. e., *c.* 1123. The archangels with their scrolls, in the semidome, and the curious treatment of the lowest stripe of the background have already found their place in the general discussion of the Catalan frescoes. A seraph with eyed wings fills the space on either side between the Pantocrator and the archangels. In the right half of the zone of Apostles, which alone remains, St. Paul's attribute of a vase has aroused some comment. One would guess that this unusual symbol for St. Paul has reference to the celebrated description of the Apostle in Acts ix, 15 as a chosen vessel (according to the title that is actually given him by inscriptions at Argolell and Orcau), but Pijoán racks his brains to discover a less natural and subtler explanation, the inadvertent transfer, to St. Paul, of the attribute of the poisoned cup of St. John Evangelist, who stands next to him in this lower zone. A further possible solution is that the vase has the same enigmatical significance as when carried by other saints in the Catalan frescoes,[1] and it is doubtful whether St. John's vessel as yet had in Christian iconography the meaning of the poisoned cup of his legend. The frescoes both of Esterri de Cardós and Sta. Eulalia de Estahón seem to embody a more immediate indebtedness to the art of Byzantium than was cultivated by the majority of Catalan Romanesque masters. Pijoán has singled out Byzantine elements in the costumes, the stoles of the Greek church on the

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[1] See above, p. 96.

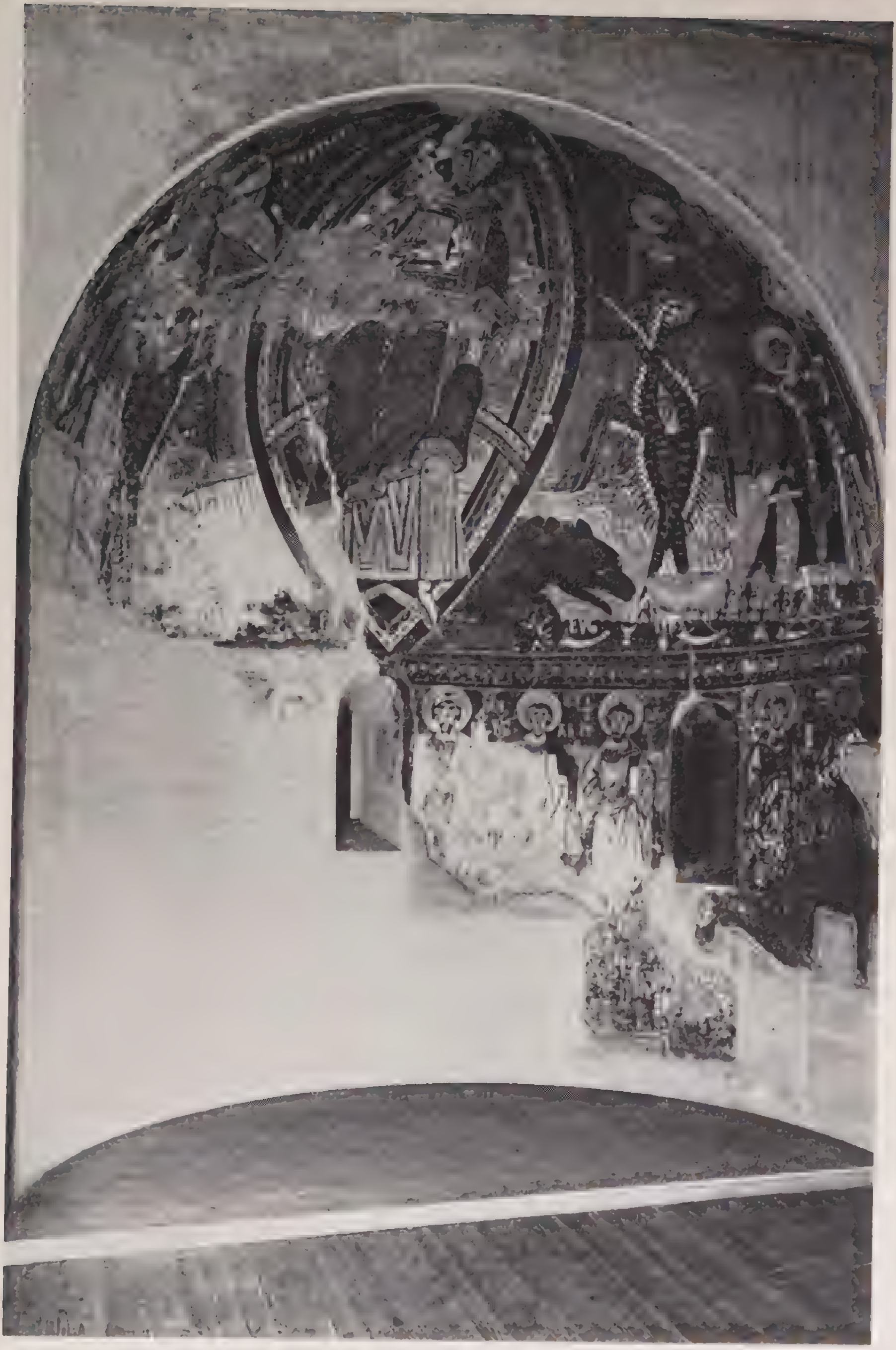

Fig. 10. APSE OF ESTERRI DE CARDÓS.
MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Museo de la Ciudadela)

archangels and the long sleeves of Greek dalmatics on the Apostles. The seraphim veiled in eyed wings may point in the same direction, and likewise significant is the attenuation of the forms, especially of the Pantocrator. But the fact that the archangels in the apse of the Lombard Galliano, which presents analogies to several of the Catalan cycles of frescoes, also originally wore Greek stoles is a signpost to caution us that there must almost always be a doubt whether the Spanish masters derived their ideas directly from Byzantine monuments or from some intermediary western source.

The semidome of Sta. Eulalia de Estahón presents us with the same full Apocalyptic *ensemble* as Esterri de Cardós; but the iconographic bonds are broken in the zone below, which contains, instead of the usual Apostles, a series of feminine saints[1] and the Virgin, interrupted at the left of the central window by a representation of the Baptism (Fig. 11). At the right end of the series remains a haloed masculine head accompanied by the enigmatical inscription SECO PBR. The letters are perhaps a contraction for Sanctus Eneco Presbyter, with reference to the Benedictine saint of this name, in Castilian, Íñigo, abbot in the eleventh century (d. 1068) of the monastery of Oña in the province of Burgos.[2] The vases carried by the Virgin and her companions have already been discussed above. The embrasures of the windows in this zone are adorned only with floral and foliage designs. Into the simulated curtain of the lowest zone, which is preserved in part, forms of men and animals are represented as interwoven. The arch of entrance to the apse still exhibits fragments of two saints on the pilasters. If the iconography and costumes of the semidome may be taken as indicative of direct Byzantine influence in Esterri de Cardós, they must have the same significance here, and there is a like

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[1] A feminine saint (the Magdalene ?) from the extreme left of the series has been set apart, in the same room of the Museum, from the installation of the apse.

[2] I owe this explanation to Gudiol, who, however, publishes as his suggestion, St. *Enecus*, adding (if I interpret him rightly) *Enec* as a Catalan form and Diego as a Castilian (supposing, as I take it, that the initial *D* represents the attachment of the *T* of *Sant* as in the Portuguese *Thiago*). But the only saint of a name anything like this that I can find has as the Latin nominative, *Eneco*, and, since this Eneco of Oña was a Spaniard, he would be a likely subject for a Catalan fresco. For St. Eneco or Íñigo, cf. E. Herrera y Oria, *Las reliquias de San Íñigo*, *Revista de archivos*, XXXVIII (1918), 360–381.

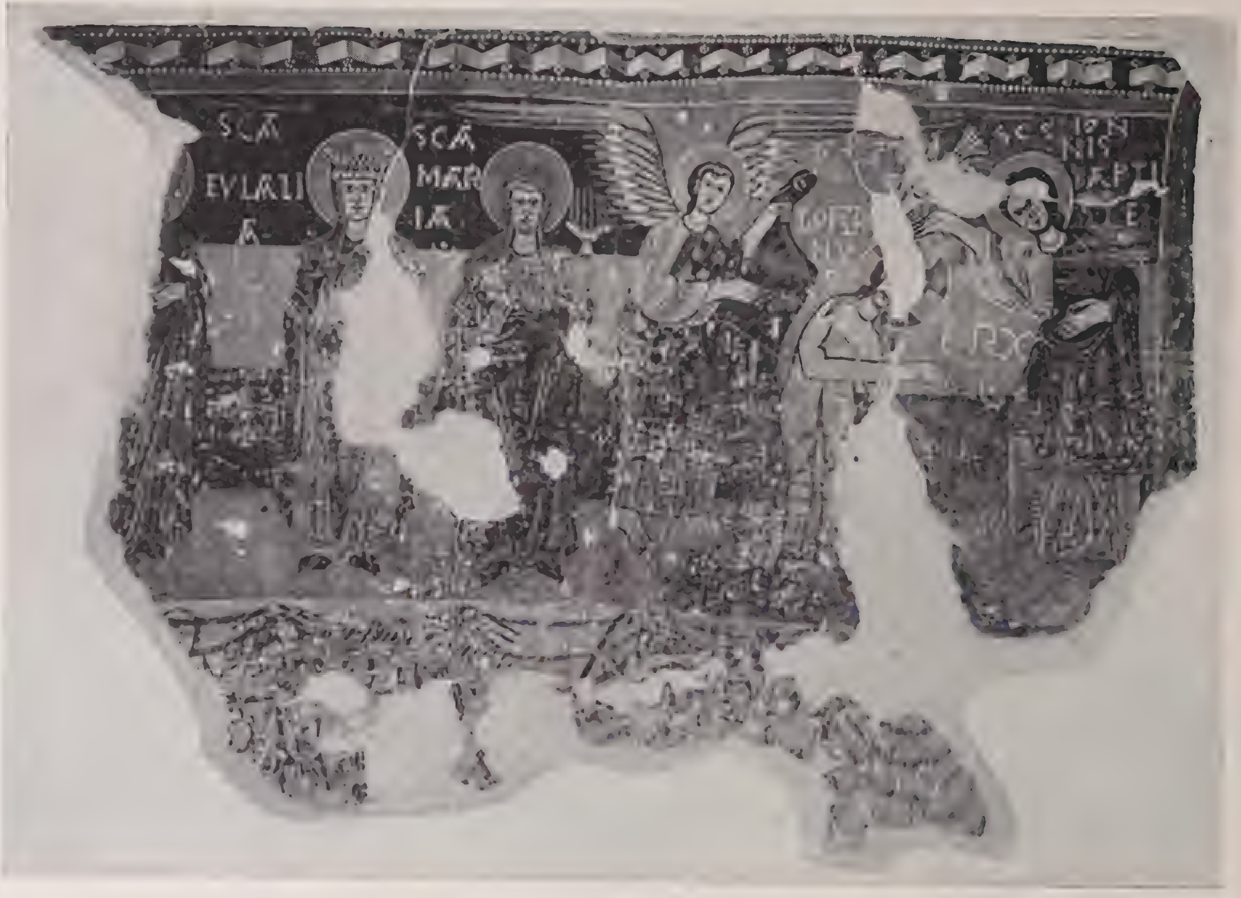
SCĀ EVLALIA
SCĀ MARIA

FIG 11. SECTION OF DECORATION OF ZONE BENEATH SEMIDOME, STA. EULALIA DE ESTAHÓN. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(*Photo. Museo de la Ciudadela*)

elongation of the Pantocrator, though not of the figures in the zone below. In some respects also the composition for the Baptism is decidedly Byzantine: St. John, as generally in Byzantine art after the eleventh century, stands at a higher level than Our Lord; Christ blesses with three fingers of his right hand in the manner of the eastern church but, as usual in Byzantine representations of the scene, without elevating this right hand; the dove descends upon the Saviour's head; and the inscription JORDANUS behind Him is a memory of those Greek Baptisms in which the genius of the river was actually personified in the foreground. In other respects the Byzantine tradition is violated: the scene is reversed so that the Baptist stands at the right instead of in his Byzantine position at the left; an angel, instead of angels, holds Christ's garments and is placed behind Him instead of on the opposite side of the river; and the Byzantine background of the rocky banks is omitted for the convention of stripes. The apse of Sta. Eulalia de Estahón, indeed, exhibits much that is either an adaptation of possibly Byzantine prototypes to the exigencies of the space and situation or a translation of them into western terms and feeling. The feminine saints are robust and solid like the figures of Sta. María de Tahull, they wear Latin costumes, and are less elongated than the Pantocrator above or the forms of Esterri de Cardós, so that one almost wonders whether the zone of saints was not executed by a hand different from that which worked in the semidome. Because stylization is less pronounced and, instead, there is a tendency towards a realistic approximation to actuality, and because there are a certain lifelessness and even a heaviness in the craftsmanship that would indicate the approaching end of a great development, the frescoes of Sta. Eulalia or at least the lower zone should probably be dated in the second half of the twelfth century, although perhaps not very late in the second half by reason of their still primitive technique. St. Iñigo (if he be indeed represented here) was not canonized until 1165, but he might conceivably have been depicted with a halo in Spain before the pope had formally bestowed upon him the honors of the altar.

4. The Lower Valley of the Noguera Pallaresa

The unusually well preserved frescoes in the Boston Museum from the principal apse of the monastic church of Sta. María de Mur carry us into the region of the frescoes in the valley of the river Noguera Pallaresa and with a fair degree of certainty into the second half of the twelfth century, or at least as late as *c.* 1150, a time when the church belonged to canons of the rule of St. Augustine and after the period (1108–1123) that, under the patronage of the Count Pedro del Pallars, Pijoán considers the most prosperous of the institution. The only peculiarities that need to be noted in the iconography of the semidome are: the introduction of the seven Apocalyptic lamps below the mandorla of the Pantocrator (Fig. 12), showing that the form of Deity in this position in the church was usually conceived in the atmosphere of the book of Revelation as judge or enthroned in glory; and the accompanying of the simple signs of the Evangelists by the four verses from the first book of the *Carmen Paschale*, 355–358, in which the Christian Latin poet of the fifth century, Sedulius, seeks to give a spiritual interpretation to these symbols. The lines were a commonplace beside the Evangelistic signs in mediaeval art, occurring, for instance, in the illuminations of manuscripts, in reliefs in the Baptistery of Cividale in Friuli as early as the eighth century, in the antependia, and in the Catalan frescoes of Fenouillar; and another verse of the same poem was employed by the master of Mur in the lowest zone of sacred narrative. Instead of the usual selection of Apostles in the zone beneath, all twelve princes of the Church are here depicted (without the Virgin); and the tendency to a grandiose fullness of repertoire in this apse is further illustrated by the existence of a second horizontal zone, beneath the Apostles, devoted to much injured narrative scenes connected with the birth of Christ. The spaces around the Nativity itself are filled with two Latin hexameters, one of which is the sixty-third verse of the second book of the *Carmen Paschale;* the other is drawn from an as yet undiscovered source, as well as an hexameter explaining the Annunciation to the Shepherds and a fragment of a verse relating to the Epiphany. The thematic plenitude of the apse is completed, in the zone of

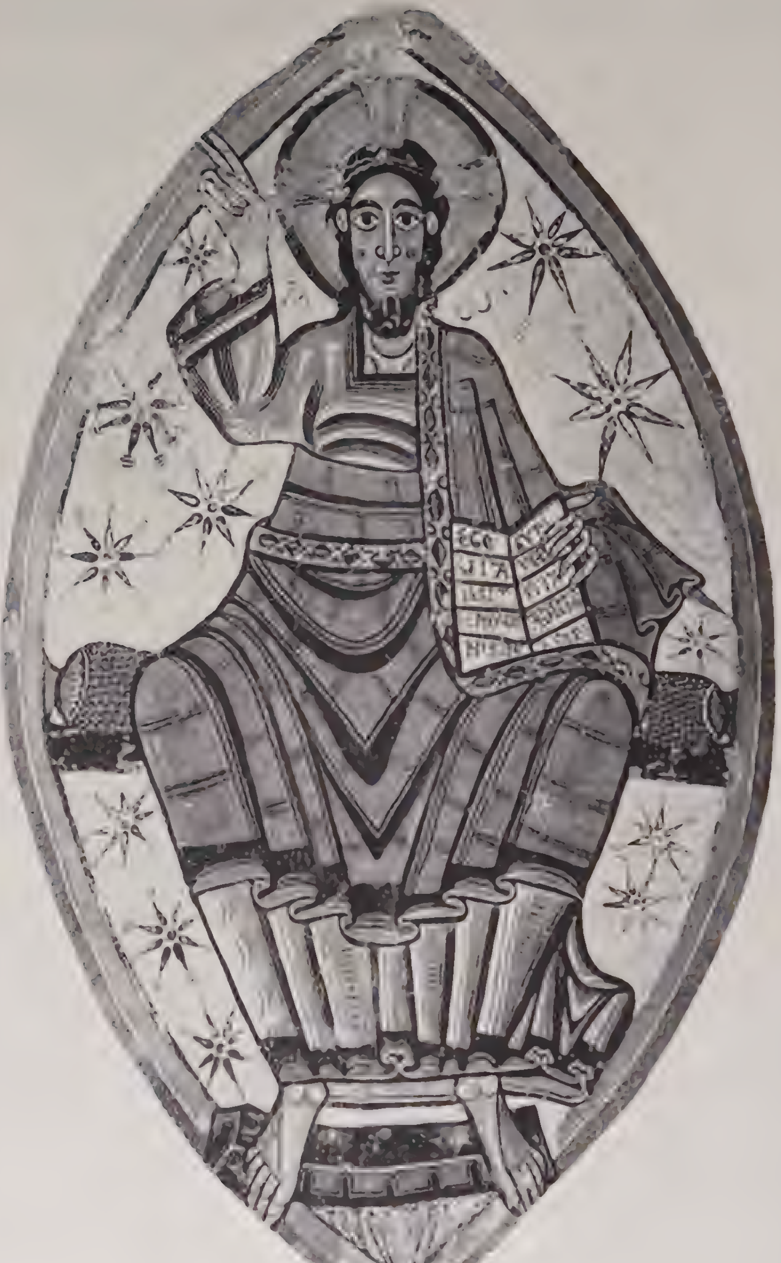

Fig. 12. PANTOCRATOR FROM APSE OF MUR. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

Apostles, by the embellishment of the sides of the window-embrasures with human forms, in addition to the fan-*motif* of the window-arches. In the central and right windows are Cain and Abel in the sacrifice and in the murder, resembling, and possibly derived (with some modifications) from, the same themes as they are depicted in the manuscripts of the Catalan Bibles of Farfa (eleventh century) and Roda (late eleventh or twelfth), or in a similar manuscript; in the left window are two personages with arms raised as if to support something (Fig. 13), perhaps suggested by the figures that in the picturing of the first chapter of Genesis in the Roda Bible uphold the sun and moon.[1] The apse of Sta. María de Mur, with its creamy white background, is one of the exceptions to the Catalan convention of striping. The south lateral apse still retains *in situ*

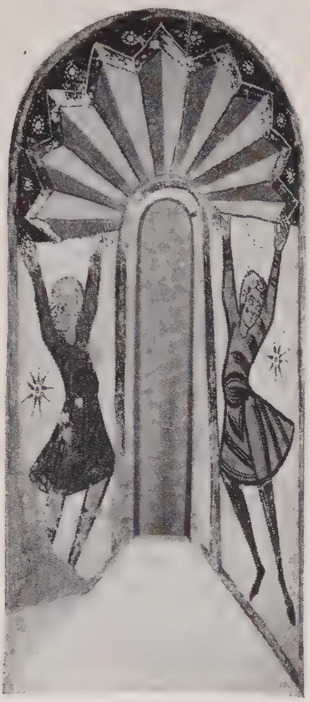

FIG. 13. DECORATION OF WINDOW IN APSE OF MUR. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

some of its polychromy, consisting of single figures of sacred personages.

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[1] Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration*, pp. 35–36, and plates 2 and 3. Day and night (sun and moon) are somewhat differently depicted in the Farfa Bible.

Besides affording almost conclusive proof of a dependence of monumental painting upon the illumination of manuscripts, Sta. María de Mur has the interest of having stirred in the minds of certain critics memories of French Romanesque art. It is perhaps not necessary to catalogue each time that constant factor in Catalan Romanesque painting, the "flying fold" of Languedoc. In Sta. María de Mur other, more distinctive analogies have been detected. It has been suggested that the master took his composition for the Christ and Evangelistic signs directly from the central tympanum of the façade of Chartres, which is indeed impressively similar even in small detail; the further suggestion that the customary Catalan zone of the Apostles was in this case derived from the lintel with the twelve Apostles under the tympanum of Chartres is strengthened by the considerations that in the fresco, contrary to the Catalan norm, all twelve Apostles are delineated, the Virgin is excluded from her habitual Catalan appearance in the series, and, in the two end groups of four in the Catalan fresco, the Apostles commune with one another in pairs as they do throughout the carved frieze at Chartres. The iconography of the semidome of Sta. María and the placing of a zone of Apostles beneath are of such regular occurrence in Catalonia, and the general style and certain details (as the seated Apostolic posture at Chartres) of the two monuments are so different, that a categorical statement of an influence of Chartres is a hazardous matter. It is perhaps best to say that reminiscences of the portal of Chartres, which he might have seen in his travels, may have hovered in the consciousness of the master of Mur without having any very significant effect upon his achievement. The actual style of the figure of Our Lord Himself has seemed to some eyes similar to that of the painted Pantocrator on the wall facing the nave at Vicq in France. In particular, we observe in the drapery of the Vicq Saviour a certain degree of the marked flatness of folds that is a peculiarity of the artist of Sta. María de Mur and of Spanish Romanesque painting in general. A like mannerism in the drapery may be discerned in the rest of the frescoes in both churches; but Sta. María de

Mur does not share in the many qualities that bind S. Juan de Bohí and Vicq together, such as violence of posture, disjointed forms, and forceful drawing, and what analogies exist between Mur and Vicq may be due simply to the similar models used by all Romanesque artists and to similar aesthetic conditions and needs.

Despite the countrified rudeness that attaches in some degree to practically all Catalan Romanesque painting, the frescoes of Sta. María de Mur reveal a more advanced knowledge and a more facile control over technique than the majority of cycles hitherto considered, and are freer from primitive inhibitions, so that they must be placed at least as late as 1150, if not in the third quarter of the twelfth century. If an acquaintance with the sculptures of the façade of Chartres might with surety be postulated, the date would thereby be established as subsequent to *c.* 1145. The representation of the Apostles in animated converse, appearing, as it does, in an easier and more developed aspect than in the frescoes of S. Miguel de la Seo, may be taken to possess at least some slight force as evidence for assigning the frescoes to the third quarter of the century. Professor Porter[1] has indicated to me the analogy of the communing Apostles in the mural paintings of the church of S. Jacopo at Termeno, south of Bolzano in the Tyrol, works that should possibly be assigned to as late a moment as the beginning of the thirteenth century.

We are probably right in dating *c.* 1200 what must have been formerly one of the loveliest pieces of polychrome decoration in Catalonia, the east end of the ruined twelfth century church of S. Pedro in the castle at Ager, south of Mur. There remain to us now only a few shreds to tell the tale. Besides the painted settings of pure design the following fragments may still be seen: in the left of the three semicircular niches of the principal apse, at the right of the window, a form complete except for the head and clad in drapery the lines of which suggest Byzantine delicacy, and at the left of the window bits of another figure; in the next compartment of the apse at the left (not a niche), the only tolerably preserved passage, consisting of representations of St. James (Major or Minor?) and St. Thaddaeus, recognized by inscriptions and implying that the theme used for the embellishment of the rest of the apse was the Apostolate; and in the north lateral apse, a section of a seated feminine figure, so beautiful as to make us regret the more keenly the destructon of the other part of her body and of her companions. The pattern of grouped dots so frequent in Catalan Romanesque painting is still visible on St. James's blue mantle.

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[1] See also Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture* (English edition), I, 52.

The frescoes in the Plandiura Collection from the chapel of the castle at Orcau, just east of Tremp, in the valley of the Noguera Pallaresa obviously belong to the same school as those of Ginestarre and Argolell, but they are the production of a better and later hand that probably worked towards the end of the twelfth century. All that is left to us consists in a few figures of the series of Apostles beneath the semidome, St. Paul holding a book, as at Argolell, with a version of the clause in Acts ix, 15, in poor Latin, St. Thomas, and a piece of another, unidentified saint. Of the customary bands of the background, the lowest is clearly understood as the earth, for above an undulating *motif* are easily recognizable forms of plants. The haloes are alternately red and yellow. The preserved figures reveal a rare technical mastery, nowhere more delightfully expressed than in the extreme nicety of the delineation of the drapery (Fig. 14).

5. The Section of Catalonia now Belonging to France

The Catalan frescoes now within the French border very generally abjure the banded backgrounds. Frequent reference has already been made in these pages to the extensive mural paintings of St. Martin de Fenouillar (in Catalan, S. Martí de Fenollar, now not connected with a town but merely attached to a farmhouse, south of Perpignan, close to the frontier to the right on the *route nationale* leading into Spain). We have had occasion to allude to the Byzantine iconographical arrangement of the repertoire: the Pantocrator and Evangelistic signs (here upheld by angels) are on the horseshoe, barrel vault of what was originally the apse but now has been transformed into the vesti-

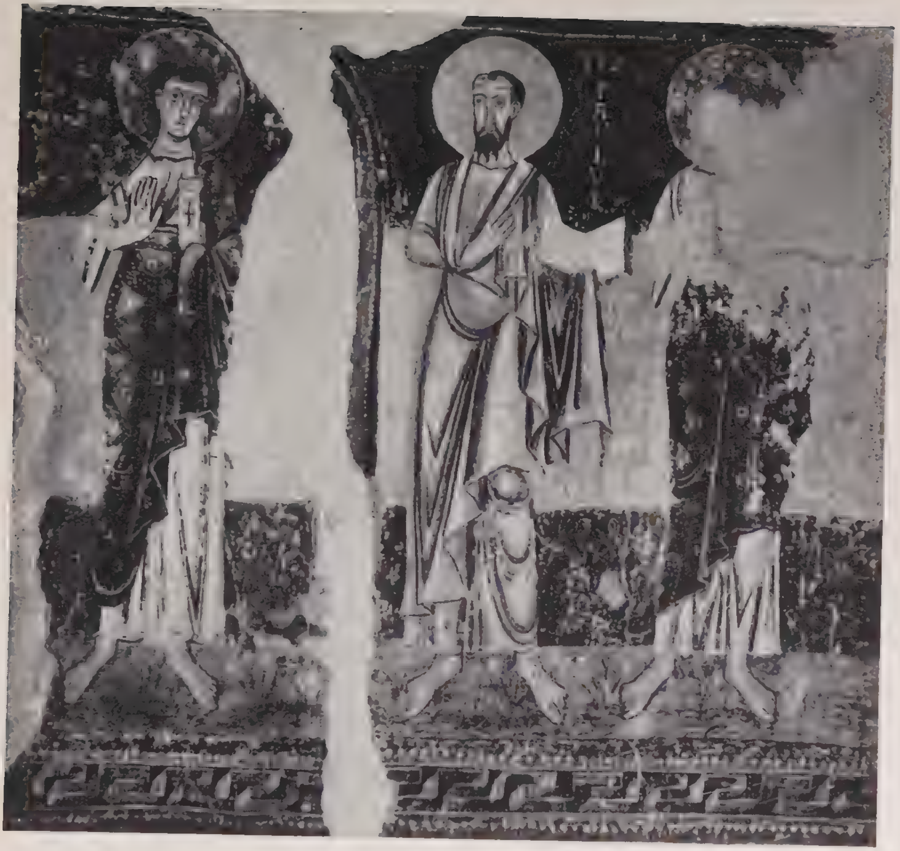

Fig. 14. SECTION OF ZONE OF SAINTS FROM APSE OF ORCAU. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

bule, and the glorified Virgin (here accompanied by two angels) appears on the end wall of this apse above the door that has been made in order to provide entrance from this direction. The majestic figure of the Saviour and his mandorla are elongated to suit the narrow space at the top of the vault; and, with the customary Romanesque coercion of forms to architectural purposes and according to what was perhaps a regular Romanesque convention for the posture of flight, the angels holding the symbols of the Evangelists are forced to fill the spandrels pleasantly by an arbitrary bending of their bodies. A second zone, still on the curving surface of the barrel vault beneath the Christ of the Apocalypse on both sides, displays the Elders of the same Biblical vision (Fig. 15) who were originally continued beneath the Virgin of the end wall but have here been partly destroyed to give place to the door. In a third zone, occupying the upper part of the vertical space of the walls underneath the barrel vault, is a series of scenes concerning the birth of Christ (Fig. 16), beginning on the one lateral wall, continued originally

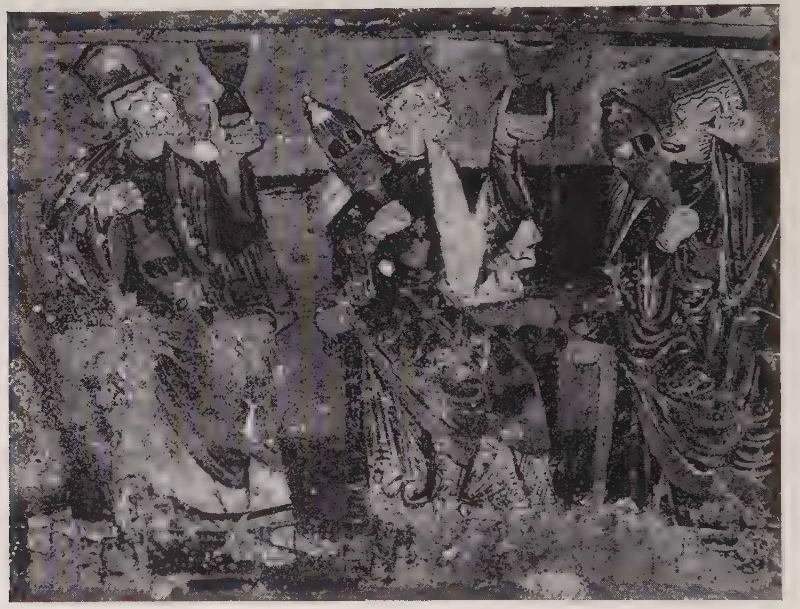

Fig. 15. ELDERS, ST. MARTIN DE FENOUILLAR

(Photo. Jausac)

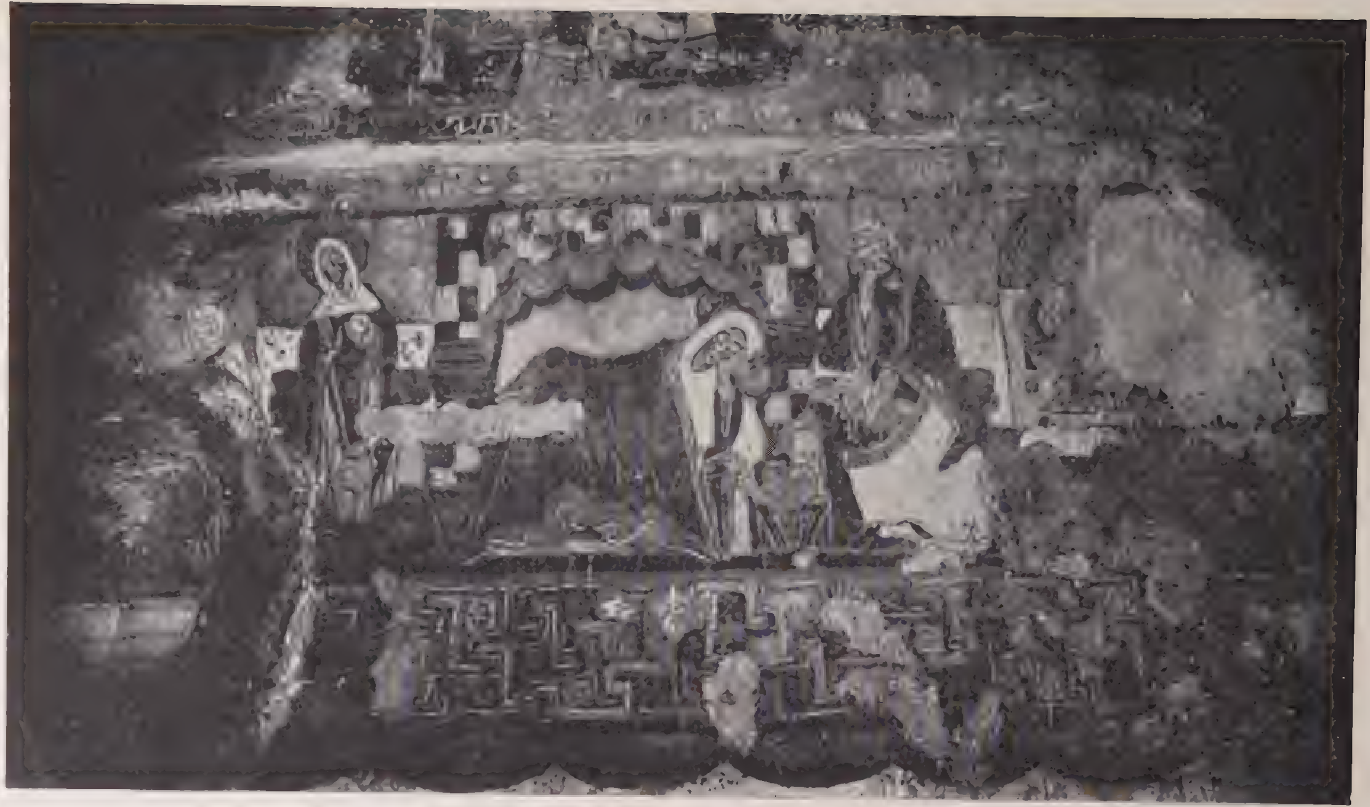

Fig. 16. THE ANNUNCIATION AND NATIVITY, ST. MARTIN DE FENOUILLAR

(*Photo. Jausa*)

on the east wall below the glorified Virgin, and completed on the other lateral wall; but the section on the east wall was entirely demolished by the fabrication of the door, except for a piece of the Child in the Epiphany, which is important, however, as revealing the fact that He and His Mother faced the Wise Men and were not, according to the usual Catalan Romanesque composition for the subject even in narrative cycles, enthroned in bald frontality. The polychrome decoration was concluded by a fourth zone of a simulated curtain, fragments of which are still extant. The costumes and attributes of the Elders, the Virgin, and the Magi have been discussed above. The Virgin's nimbus, as at Marcévol, has the unusual shape, for Catalonia, of a lozenge. According to the customary Catalan practice, the backgrounds themselves of the glories of Christ and the Virgin are of a single color, here, as commonly, blue; but the Catalan rule is violated by abandoning the convention of stripes for the spaces surrounding the glories and by employing about the Virgin's aureole a red ground and around that of Christ a checkered design of red lines on yellow. The banded setting, however, is used in the zones of the Elders and of the narrative; in the former instance the lowest stripe is diapered with a pattern of dots so as to stand for the pavement. There is a resemblance to Sta. María de Mur in the fullness of the iconographic program, in the existence of an additional zone of narrative devoted to the Nativity, and in an explanation of the Evangelistic signs by the verses of Sedulius; but the resemblance is probably fortuitous, since the compositions for the scenes relating to the infancy of Christ at Mur are not the same. Nor is it possible to concur in Pijoán's endeavor to trace a relationship between the Elders of Fenouillar and the sculptured Elders in the topmost tier of carving on the façade of the Catalan monastery of Sta. María at Ripoll. The only points of similarity are the mediaeval commonplaces of the theme of the Elders and of their attributes of the harps and the vials; the styles are utterly different, and the seated posture and peculiar headdress of Fenouillar are not paralleled at Ripoll. The strange mode in which almost all the Elders of Fenouillar hold their harps, as if they were manipulating baseball bats, appears only two or three times at Ripoll, and it is probable that the consistent repetition of this gesture at Fenouillar, and, as we shall see, also at Barbará, was derived from the representations of the Elders in the Beatus manuscripts.[1] The reliefs of Ripoll, which seem to have been executed not later than 1160, thus do not help in the arduous problem of dating the frescoes of St. Martin de Fenouillar. There is the broadest divergence of opinion among scholars, Folch placing the frescoes at about the period that he chooses for those of Pedret and so in the tenth or early eleventh century, whereas Pijoán finally decides upon the end of the twelfth century; but a comparison with other Catalan cycles of wall paintings would seem to indicate that they lie about half-way between the earlier and later achievements of the Pyrenean frescoists, so that, until further evidence is forthcoming, they may be dated in the chronological neighborhood of the Ripoll sculptures.

By a greater hand than that of the master of Fenouillar are the meagre remnants of the frescoes in the apse of the church at L'Ecluse (in Catalan, La Clusa, high above the *route nationale* on a hill and still closer to the Spanish border). In the semidome (Fig. 17) are left the upper half of the Pantocrator and a very fine angel with a splendid outspread wing supporting the mandorla and relieved against, not stripes, but, as at Fenouillar, a diapered background, here a magnificent red with a pattern of grouped dots. In the zone beneath there remains a fragment of an Epiphany. The barrel vault in front of the apse was also adorned with painting, but the wall constructed as a setting to the new altar and the remodelling of the church cut away all of this except a band of decoration immediately adjoining the apse and containing what seem to be two Evangelistic signs, the eagle of St. John directly above the Saviour's head and lower down on the right a form that may possibly be the ox of St. Luke. The paucity of the fragments makes it difficult to judge whether the more masterly technique is witness to a somewhat later date than Fenouillar or merely to a greater artistic genius.

A sad state of decay is likewise betrayed by the frescoes (Fig. 18) that remain in the semidome of the south subordinate apse in the church of the monastery of Marcévol (in Catalan, Marcèvol), another of the monuments in the former Catalan province of Roussillon, near the hamlet of Arboussols, just northeast of Prades, in the department of the Pyrénées Orientales. The blessing Pantocrator at the centre is ensconced in a lozenge-shaped nimbus, like the somewhat differently proportioned one that contains the Virgin at Fenouillar. The lateral spaces of the cupola are divided into two zones by a band of conventionalized foliate scrolls. In the upper zone an angel on either side performs the double duty of supporting the nimbus and of censing; another pair of angels in the lower zone, Catalan seraphim clothed in wings, apparently are conceived as holding up the band of ornament. The decorative band that binds the semi-dome at the bottom is also preserved. The background is again not striped but is a uniform, cream-colored expanse, within the nimbus accented by stars or conventionalized flowers. According to the Romanesque fondness for coercing the compositions

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[1] Occurring, for instance, in the Beatus manuscript of St. Sever.

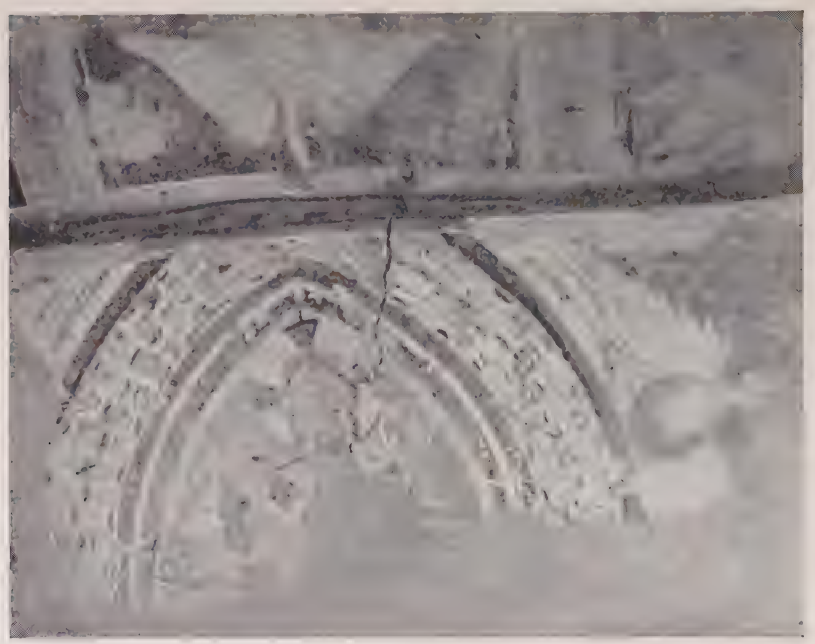

Fig. 17. DECORATION OF EAST END OF CHURCH, L'ECLUSE

(Photo. Porter)

into formal designs, the outward-turned legs of the upper angels are balanced by the inward-turned legs of the lower. The angels in the right half of the semidome are nearly obliterated, and the color has everywhere badly faded. The Pantocrator has a barbaric savagery like that of the figures of Ginestarre, and the craftsmanship looks quite as untutored. But the appearance of rudeness may be due in this instance, at least partially, to repainting, and I should hesitate both to decide whether it could represent primitive effort or merely inferior ability and to assign the fresco to any more definite moment than after 1142, the first date at which the existence of the priory is confirmed by document.[1] Pierre Vidal, in his monograph on Marcévol,

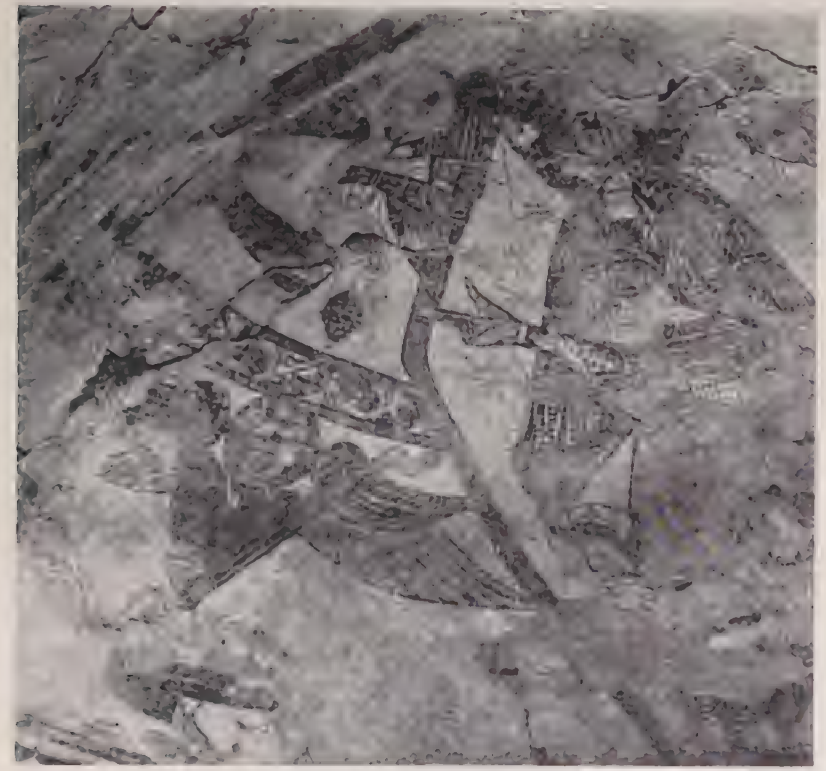

Fig. 18. SEMIDOME OF SOUTH APSE, MARCÉVOL
(Photo. Porter)

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[1] P. Vidal, *Le prieuré de Marcévol*, Perpignan, 1888, pp. 13 ff., and J. Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, III, 92.

records his belief that the actual church was not begun before *c.* 1175, and there is nothing in the frescoes that would really forestall such a date for their execution.

However much one, in the character of a tourist, may be repaid by the successively unfolding vistas of magnificent landscape for the hard climb to the abbey of St. Martin de Canigou (in Catalan, S. Martí de Canigó) also near Prades, he will scarcely find it worth his while in his character as an archaeologist, for the frescoes have disappeared in virtual entirety from the bell-tower, allowing to be seen only patches of the checkered background and what is perhaps the vague form of a feminine saint, the period of which it is impossible to determine except that it must be subsequent to the founding of the institution in the first years of the eleventh century.

A still more laborious ascent awaits the archaeologist who mounts to the monastery of Serrabonne (in Catalan, Serrabona) from the road that leads from Bouleternère to Boule d'Amont; and since at the end of the climb I had the ill luck to find the family who guard the key away in the fields, I can only quote those who have been more fortunate than I to the effect that on the south wall of the church there are fragments of a standing figure and of a scene that may have depicted Christ's Descent into Hell. Both Gudiol and Dr. Kuhn assign these paintings to the second half of the twelfth century after the consecration of the priory in 1151.

6. PEDRET

The examination of the frescoes of S. Quirce de Pedret (near Berga) has been postponed to this point, at the end of the discussion of the Pyrenean churches of the twelfth century before we turn to the thirteenth century and to the monuments further south in Catalonia, because the paintings stand iconographically rather by themselves and because the doctors disagree widely in regard to the date. What remains of the polychromy (now in the Barcelona Museum) was found in the two tiny lateral apses of the Mozarabic church of the tenth century, which were spared in the Romanesque remodelling that took place in the twelfth century and probably in the first half of the century.[1] With iconographic symmetry these two apses were painted each with a banqueting scene from Sacred Writ. The principal elements of the decoration in the right lateral apse, which alone preserves anything but the merest fragments, have already been mentioned — at the left of the central window in the zone beneath the vaulting, the five wise virgins seated at the marriage feast (three of them cut off but for the heads by a door that was later made to communicate with the main apse), next a virtually erased figure that perhaps depicted Our Lord as bridegroom, and at the right four [2] of the originally five standing foolish virgins, one of them appearing only as a half-length above a smaller window, with the seated personification of the Church completing the series (Fig. 19).[3] The glorified Mother of God who, seated in a circular nimbus, occupied the centre of the vaulting of the apse has almost vanished but may be identified by the inscription, SCA (Sancta) MARIA. The archivolts of the windows and of the inner face of the horseshoe arch leading into the aisle are embellished with pure design. Under the virgins of the parable is the zone of the usual simulated curtain, containing in places the Moorish pattern of medallions of beasts. A seated, haloed figure preserved on the soffit of the horseshoe arch of entrance and depicted as seated at a table is identified by Folch as one of the Evangelists and by Gudiol as a matron (saint?) praising God. A fragment of polychromy above this arch on the outside is now so absolutely blurred as to be undecipherable.[4] From

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[1] Pijoán and Folch assign the remodelling to the first half of the twelfth century; Gómez-Moreno does not specify which half; Puig connects the restoration with a document of 1180 that merely mentions the church.

[2] Puiggarí (*L'Avens*, Barcelona, 1889, p. 109) says that the fifth virgin (i. e., the first at the left of the line) was destroyed by the construction of a modern window, which must have been made next to the present and original central window; but Gómez-Moreno (*Iglesias mozárabes*) speaks of no such modern window.

[3] Miss Doris C. Miller (*Parnassus*, March 15, 1929, p. 20) has cleverly discovered what may be the explanation of the presence of the Ecclesia in this aggregation — a sentence of the Mozarabic liturgy in which the Church is said to rejoice in the triumph of the virgin saints. The same scholar also adduces the analogy of an enamel of the thirteenth century in the Cluny Museum, which groups with the virgins of the parable a figure that probably represents the Ecclesia.

[4] Pijoán interprets a statement of Puiggarí (*op. cit.*, p. 109) to mean that the latter scholar distinguished there the heads of the Virgin and Gabriel in an Annunciation; but Puiggarí's words seem to me to refer to the door that was made in the side of the right lateral apse to communicate with the main apse, and the Annunciation would thus have been on the right wall of the presbyterium, that is, in front of the main apse.

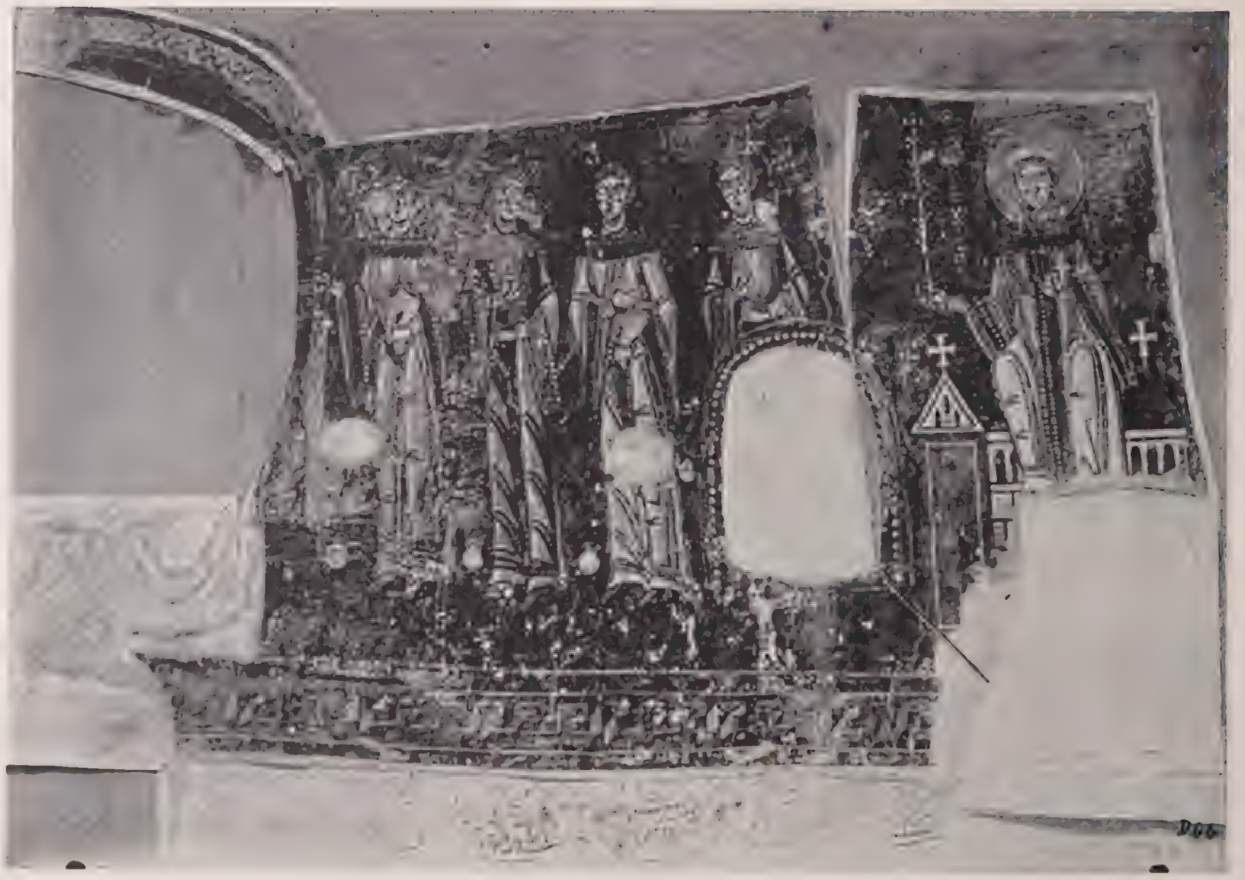

Fig. 19. FOOLISH VIRGINS AND THE PERSONIFIED CHURCH, S. QUIRCE DE PEDRET. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Museo de la Ciudadela)

the left lateral apse remain only some desperately damaged fragments, which reveal, however, another scene of figures at a meal, probably the Marriage at Cana, the feast in the house of Simon, or the Last Supper. If the forms that can be dimly discerned are really feminine, as they seem, the Marriage at Cana would be the more likely guess. Beneath are bits of the same kind of counterfeited curtain as in the other apse. Comment has already been made upon the use of a blue background instead of the convention of stripes.

The distraught question of the dating reduces itself to the problems of whether the frescoes were executed before or after the Romanesque remodelling, in the twelfth century, of the Mozarabic church of the beginning of the tenth century; and of whether, if the earlier date be the right one, they were done about the time of the first construction of the church or later. Of external, non-stylistic evidence, the following contentions may be advanced in defence of the earlier dating. (1) In the Romanesque restoration of the twelfth century, the right aisle was abolished except for a square chamber leading into the right lateral apse, so that this right apse may have been thenceforth no more than a sacristy; and at the time of the Romanesque restoration or thereafter it would not have been natural to decorate with an elaborate cycle of paintings a lateral apse that had thus lost its importance. That the apse was so painted after the Romanesque remodelling cannot be excluded as a possibility, but it certainly would not have been a likely proceeding. (2) Since both lateral apses were brought into relation with each other by being embellished with banqueting scenes, it does seem probable that they would have received this adornment when they were of equal glory, that is, before the Romanesque remodelling and before the right apse became merely a subordinate chamber. (3) If the door that was cut beneath the wise virgins, removing parts of their bodies, could be shown to have been made in the twelfth century, the frescoes would be definitely proved to have been executed before the Romanesque restoration, for the Romanesque authorities would not have committed such vandalism at the very time at which they were having the paintings done; but both Pijoán and Gómez-Moreno state that this door and the one leading into the left apse were made in the eighteenth century.

In favor of a dating after the Romanesque modifications may be urged these other arguments. (1) The surfaces of the pieces of wall under the imposts of the horseshoe arch of entrance to the right apse are painted with a continuation of the lowest zone of the simulated curtain, and it does not seem that this decoration would have been undertaken at a time when columns stood in front of these pieces of wall and supported the arch, as they did in the structure of the tenth century. (2) The fact that the architecture of the left apse (i. e., the apse on the Gospel side) underwent alterations at the period of remodelling[1] would indicate that painting might have been done there and in the sister apse at this time. (3) As has been seen in a former chapter, it does not appear possible to find a prototype for the personified Church seated on a basilica before the miniatures[2] of the south-Italian *Exultet* roll of Benevento (Vat. Lat. 9820), which are dated by Bertaux about 1050 and by our American authority on the subject, Miss Myrtilla Avery, 981–984,[3] so that this argument would throw the frescoes, if not into the period of the Romanesque modifications, at least into the first years of the eleventh century. The Ecclesia is thus depicted also in the *Exultet* roll of Velletri, executed about 1100. Earlier rolls that once existed with such a representation of the Church may have been lost, but in any case little or no evidence exists to prove that the practice of illuminating the *Exultet* rolls commenced in southern Italy before the end of the tenth century. The personification of the Church as a woman does not belong to Byzantine art proper or to Greek Catholics. She had been thus conceived in Coptic and German Carolingian art, yet not in the peculiar guise in which she manifests herself in these two *Exultet* rolls. In Coptic frescoes she appears, crowned, in a row of saints; in Carolingian Germany, as standing and catching the blood at the Crucifixion or attacking the Synagogue or the City of Jerusalem. The crown, the square nimbus, the twelve candles, and the gesture of the *orans* in the Benevento roll are not imitated at Pedret, but the resemblance of the two figures is so close as virtually to impose the belief that the Spanish example was suggested by that of Benevento or a similar manuscript, although the Church is not found in any other of the extant rolls besides the two mentioned in just exactly this form of a queen enthroned upon a basilica.

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[1] Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 59 and 61.

[2] The present text of the roll, the *Vulgata*, dating from the thirteenth century, is not of the same date as the miniatures. The old text, the *Vetus Itala*, was erased, and the *Vulgata* substituted.

[3] Following E. M. Bannister, *Monumenti vaticani*, etc., Leipzig, 1913, p. 119.

The evidence afforded by the architecture of the building for and against a dating of the frescoes in the tenth century has been seen to be conflicting and of about equal weight for both the champions and the opponents of such chronology. Our knowledge of the evolution of costume, ecclesiastic and secular, and of its sporadic retention of elements that in other regions had fallen out of use is in too embryonic a condition to substantiate Pijoán's attempt to use such details as the central stole on the wise virgins and the Church as an argument for an assignment to an early date. The apparent dependence of the figure of the Church upon the *Exultet* rolls is not an absolutely conclusive argument for rejecting an assignment to the tenth century, since at any moment an earlier prototype might conceivably pop into our field of vision, but it is certainly a cogent consideration. If, as has been suggested above, the style of Pedret is in any way influenced by that of Galliano in Lombardy, we should at once be carried at least into the eleventh century. The spiral floral *motifs* on the inside of the arch of the right apse and on the central window are very similar to those of the other Catalan frescoes. Little monumental painting of the tenth century is preserved, but what there is, especially in late Carolingian German art, though in a way quite as advanced technically as Pedret, reveals a pictorial manner that is decidedly different. The possibly contemporary frescoes of S. Miguel at Tarrasa belong to quite another category. It is, then, my present opinion that Pijoán's, Folch's, and Gudiol's dating in the tenth century is not correct. The question thus remains whether they were executed in the eleventh century or early twelfth before the Romanesque remodelling or after this event, and I confess myself baffled by this problem. At my last view of the Pedret cycle in the Barcelona Museum, I felt, judging from the maturity of technical ability and from a comparison with the other Catalan frescoes, that Gómez-Moreno and Sanpere y Miquel were right in ascribing the paintings at Pedret to the period of the Romanesque restoration. A renewed study of the photographs leaves me not so certain. I sense something different from the other Catalan frescoes, something perhaps more primitive, and I should not be disconcerted if the cycle at Pedret should be definitely proved to have been painted in the eleventh century or very early twelfth.

7. The Upper Valley of the Noguera Pallaresa

With the frescoes of the two Benedictine churches of Sta. María de Esterri de Aneu and S. Pedro del Burgal in the upper valley of the Noguera Pallaresa, we pass definitely, though still in the Pyrenean region, to the late Romanesque style of the very end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth. It has been necessary to describe the decoration of the unusually large apse of the former church (now in the Barcelona Museum) (Fig. 20) at such length in the general discussion of Romanesque art that only a few details remain to be noted concerning the composition, which presents a greater fullness of the visionary repertoire than any other of the Catalan cycles. The analogies to Cappadocian and Lombard frescoes have also been mentioned. Now, as usually at the end of a tradition, the painter feels himself at liberty to relax the old rules and abandons the strict division into zones, filling the section beneath the Epiphany of the semidome, not with lines of Apostles and of sacred narrative, but with less rigidly disposed elements of the prophetic vision, separated into an orderly composition by the windows, which themselves are embellished with a pattern of foliage in spirals. The third archangel, Raphael, does not appear with the others in the semidome but is relegated to the lower section at the extreme right and is balanced on the extreme left by two mysterious figures, both tonsured and without haloes, one above the other, the upper (Fig. 21) dressed in a priest's chasuble (not, as Pijoán says, in deacon's vestments), the lower almost obliterated but apparently wearing a deacon's dalmatic and still revealing an inscription that seems to read
CU(?)L
N A D. Despite the absence of the halo and the presence of

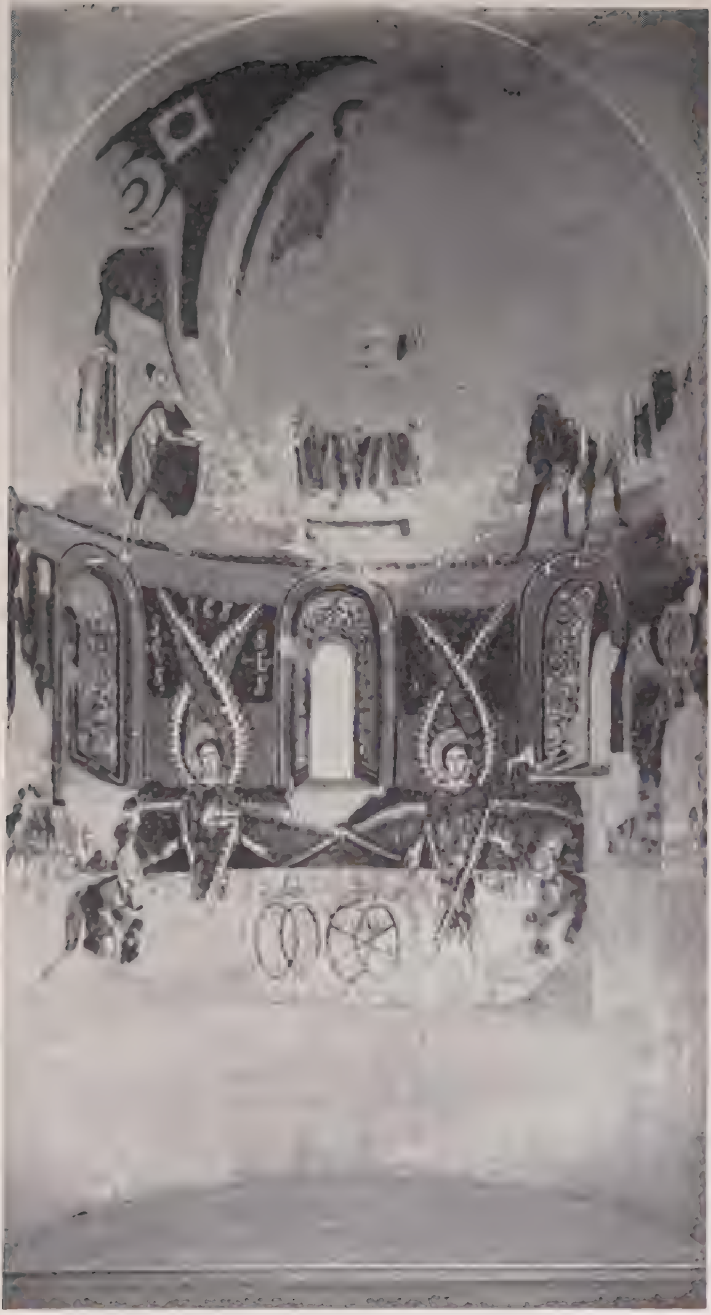

Fig. 20. APSE OF STA. MARÍA DE ESTERRI DE ANEU.
MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Museo de la Ciudadela)

the deacon's vestment, Pijoán tentatively interprets the inscription as [S A N] C [T] U [S] [B E R] N A [R] D [U S], evidently as if some of the missing letters were conceived as hidden by the figure and some erased, disregarding the probable L and supposing (impossibly) the T of *Sanctus* and the second R of *Bernardus*[1] to have been omitted altogether! He therefore is led to denominate the upper figure as the founder of the Benedictine rule that St. Bernard (canonized in 1173) reformed — St. Benedict. But his restoration of the inscription is more flagrant than some of the liberties that classical scholars have taken with the papyri of the Greek lyric poets and of Menander; and in any case, St. Benedict would not be represented as a man so young. May they not be local ecclesiastics like the abbot Desiderius in the apse of S. Angelo in Formis, perhaps, as Gudiol surmises, even donors, among the first attempts in the line of portraits that glorify the history of Spanish painting? The interpretation of the two figures as patrons of this church is strengthened by the recent discovery of a similar personage in the related frescoes of S. Pedro del Burgal. Such elements of Byzantine iconography as the seraphim, the archangels (whether conceived as companions of the Madonna or of the Magi), and the reservation of the semidome for the Virgin have already received attention. Since the pictures of the apse, however, are so similar to those of Galliano, it is permitted to wonder just how far these factors were direct borrowings from Byzantium and not importations from Byzantine art via Lombardy. That there is at Esterri de Aneu some degree of imme-

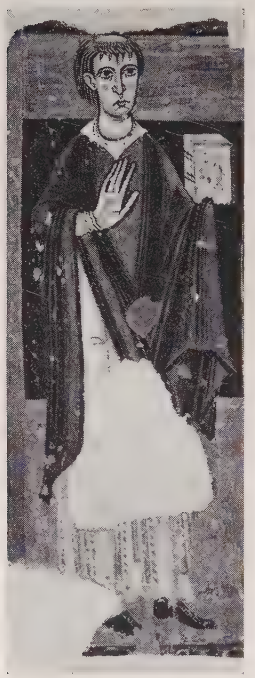

FIG. 21. A DONOR(?), APSE OF STA. MARÍA DE ESTERRI DE ANEU. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Museo de la Ciudadela)

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[1] He writes the name, however, as if there were a minuscule *r* in the inscription together with the other majuscule letters — another epigraphic impossibility.

diate relationship to Byzantine achievement can scarcely be doubted. The costume of the Wise Men, for instance, is of the eastern court. The types themselves are marked by a rather decided Byzantinism, though it is a Byzantinism that under the spell of the simpler and fresher western spirit has taken on the greater naturalism and candor that already intimate the approach of the new Gothic style.

In view of this evidence of Byzantine influence and through comparison with other frescoes of the same late moment of the Romanesque development, which are not so distinguished technically, it is perhaps logical to ascribe the superiority in execution at Esterri de Aneu not only to the advanced date but also to a refining contact with the tradition of good craftsmanship perfected through so many centuries at Constantinople. Certainly, from the standpoints of correct delineation and sensibility to physical beauty (so rare in Romanesque art and yet so wonderful when found), these are the most masterly mural paintings of the Catalan school. The consciously sought loveliness of the seraphim's heads has often been observed. Yet at Esterri there is nothing of that deadness which is betrayed in the similar themes of the apse of Sta. Eulalia de Estahón and which we should perhaps expect at the end of an evolution. Although the manner is placid, it is instinct with life, possibly with the infant life of Gothic. The union of Byzantinism to an incipient naturalism and Gothicism already calls up in the mind here and there vague analogies to the style that was later to be exalted in Italy by Cimabue: to select just one example, the Sts. Michael and Raphael look forward to the angels of the Italian master in the upper church at Assisi.

The frescoes of Aneu are one of the few cases in which the characteristic board-like draperies of the Spanish twelfth century are retained in the late Romanesque period.

The Plandiura Collection at Barcelona contains a mural fragment from the Romanesque chapel of S. Pedro at Esterri de Aneu[1] representing a standing figure of a feminine saint (restored in the upper part of the head) and executed in a style which I cannot agree with Gudiol (so far as the preservation permits judgment) in finding very different from that of the frescoes of Sta. María. Professor Cook sees a masculine saint in the form and interprets the attribute as possibly the sword of St. Paul or the knife of St. Bartholomew; but it will appear below that the attribute may very well be a candle.[1]

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[1] Cf. C. Rocafort, *Excursió als Pireneus de Lleida, Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya,* XI (1901), 261.

An intimate iconographic and stylistic relationship exists between the frescoes of Sta. María de Esterri de Aneu and those now in the Plandiura Collection (Fig. 22) from the ruined Benedictine church of S. Pedro del Burgal somewhat farther south in the valley on the left bank of the river between Esterri and Escaló. Until recently no more of the cycle was known than the zone of figures of saints just beneath the semidome of the apse, and it is only by the release of the rest of the remains from the whitewash, at the time of the installation in the Plandiura Collection, that the connection with the works of Esterri de Aneu has become fully apparent. From the semidome have been recovered: a piece of the mandorla and the foot of a central Pantocrator; the adoring form of a Prophet at the right (as at Galliano in Lombardy) corresponding to the bending Magus at the left at Esterri; and, again as at Esterri, an archangel bearing a scroll inscribed with the vestiges of the word *Postolacius* (*sic*). The first zone beneath the semidome is separated from it by a maeander bound between two bands of red. Of the range of sacred personages in this zone, the St. Peter, Virgin, Baptist, Sts. Paul and John Evangelist were already visible; to these have now been added the upper parts of two further Apostles. The painter has dared to essay the novelty of the seated posture for the saints, but, despite the late date, has notably failed. Reference has already been made to a vessel that may be the Grail held by the Virgin and to the pieces of painted hangings under the windows. The embrasures of the windows themselves are embellished with a superb floral *motif*. Although the background in the semidome is banded, with the lowest band ornamented like that of Esterri,[2] yet the background of the zone of saints is not striped but is formed by a continuous expanse of blue, against which the haloes, alternately, according to the frequent custom, red and yellow, are effectively relieved. The removal of the whitewash has revealed a second and lower zone

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[1] P. 142.

[2] See above, p. 62.

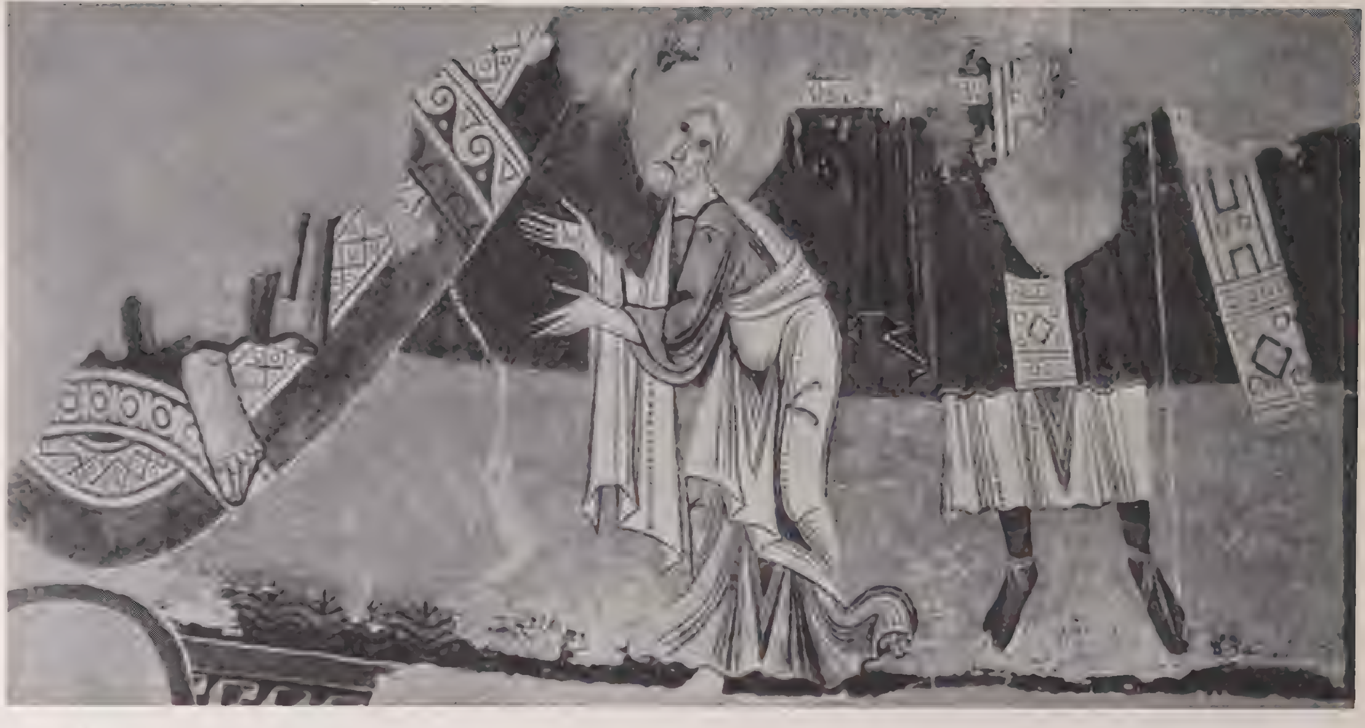

FIG. 22. REMAINS OF FRESCOES FROM SEMIDOME OF S. PEDRO DEL BURGAL. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

of decoration beneath the seated saints, from whom it is divided by a more involved and magnificent maeander than the one already described. This lower zone displays a simulated curtain of elaborate and beautiful design and beside it the great surprise to which the recent discoveries at Burgal have treated us, a feminine figure without a halo who is almost certainly the donor of the paintings or at least the benefactor of the church. Such an identification receives much corroboration by the tentative reading of the inscription beside her as *Comitissa*, Latin for countess. Was she perchance the Guillerma, wife of the Count Bernardo de Pallars from whose donation to the institution in 1196[1] the cost of the frescoes was possibly defrayed? The fact that she holds a flame-tipped candle suggests that the somewhat similar attribute in the hand of the feminine saint from S. Pedro de Esterri in the same Collection may likewise represent such a light, although the outlines of the latter are straighter and it is understood by Gudiol and Cook as the blade of a sword (Fig. 23).

The iconographical affiliation to the frescoes of Esterri is supported by stylistic parallelisms. Not only are naturalism and sophistication developed to about the same degree, but there are specific and very close resemblances in physical type between the adoring figure in the semidome of Burgal and the Magus and Prophets of Esterri and, even more striking, between the countess at Burgal and the priest of Esterri. Nevertheless, I should scarcely venture to ascribe both cycles to the same artist or workshop. There are even some stylistic differences. Esterri lacks a certain largeness and majesty that impressively surround the saints of Burgal. The occidental feeling is more pronounced at Burgal, the Byzantine influence less tangible, and the execution less exquisite. The lower edge of the garment of the Prophet at Burgal flies violently forth in a "Languedoc fold." Both monuments of painting belong to the same general moment in the evolution of Catalan Romanesque art, but it is impossible to say which preceded the other. The Count de Pallars's gift of 1196 may very well have gone towards paying for the polychromy of the church of S. Pedro del Burgal, but the decoration may not have been begun just at once. A

[1] Pijoán, *Pintures murals catalanes*, 44–45.

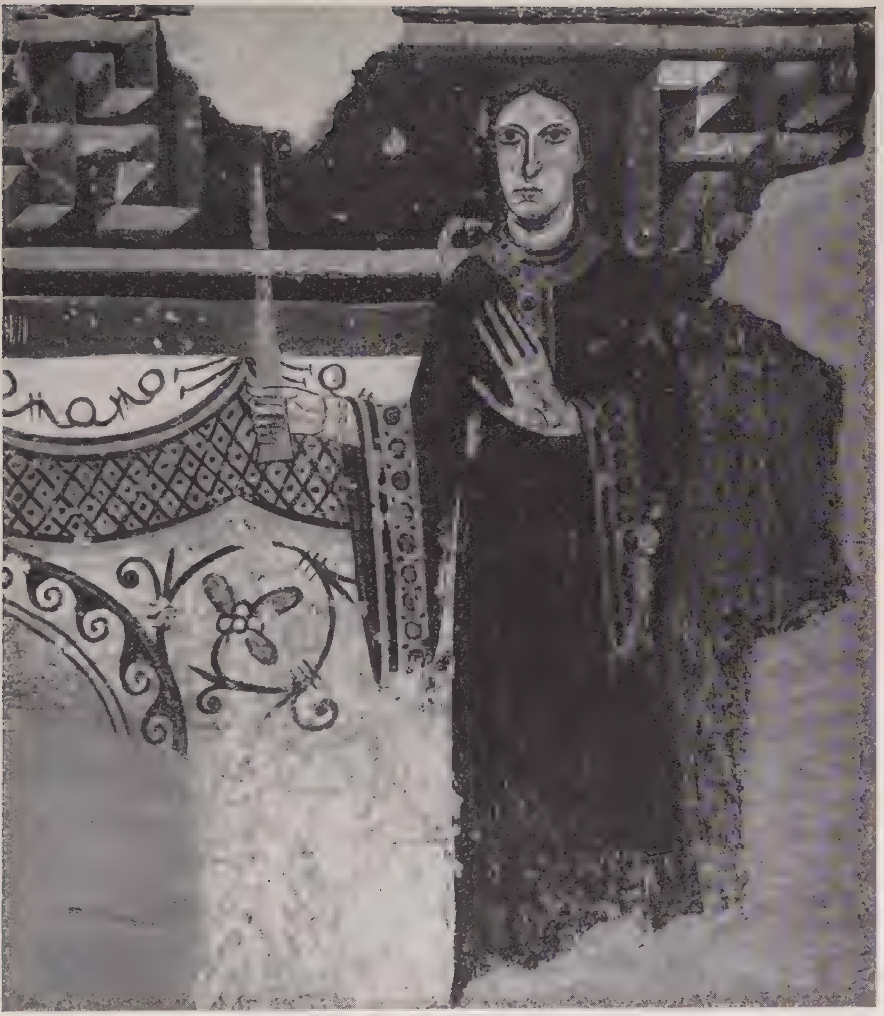

FIG. 23. FEMININE DONOR(?) FROM APSE OF S. PEDRO DEL BURGAL. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

further divergence from Esterri is found in certain analogies to the paintings of Ginestarre, Argolell, and Orcau, particularly in the types of the Virgin and St. Peter and in the three-pointed treatment of the beard; but the later date of *c.* 1200 embodied at S. Pedro del Burgal in the much more competent and naturalistic rendering of the human form makes it impossible that the frescoes should have been produced by any one of the workshops that labored at Ginestarre, Argolell, or Orcau, for the latter cycles incorporate the style that is typical of the twelfth century. There is nothing incongruous, however, in the theory that the master of Burgal was influenced by these predecessors.

What is left to us of the mural painting of the other churches in this upper valley of the Noguera Pallaresa is also for the most part of a late date. The fragment of a haloed feminine head, surmounted by a piece of a band of foliate decoration or of a fabric so ornamented, which, except for a few bits, is as yet all that emerges from the whitewash in the church at Sorpe above Esterri, may still belong to the last years of the twelfth century. It is not likely that much painting will ever be recovered from this building, for the head is found on the whitewashed soffit of an arch which led into the now destroyed apse and which, by a new orientation, has been transformed into the entrance of the church. The loss is the more to be deplored because in the visible head excellent preservation vies with higher technical achievement than is usually encountered in Catalan Romanesque.

In the much more extensive remains in the apse of the church at Isabarre off the road near Sorpe, we have an instance of a style that is still distinctly Romanesque utilized, as its dryness betrays, no earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century.[1] In the semidome may be descried a standing Pantocrator in a mandorla. The zone beneath harbors the usual series of saints, three at the left of the central window and four at the right, all under painted round arches supported on columns, and above the window, in almost the same large scale of size, a feminine saint with hands outspread before her breast. In Mas's photograph of this section of the apse (Fig. 24) it seems to be possible to read beside her head . . . GDALINA, and she has therefore been denominated as the Magdalene; but the letters, as they appear in the photograph, are not absolutely certain, and, because of the insufficient light, I could not make any verification at this spot in the frescoes at the time of my visit to the original. Nor is there enough left of the inscription that accompanies the figure just at the left of the window to support a recognition as St. Thaddaeus; but the legend just at the right of the window is plain, identifying the man as the rarely represented Apostolic missionary, St. Barnabas. The themes in the embrasure of the central window I was unable to make out, except at the top the Early Christian symbol for Our Lord, the fish, which is repeated once and perhaps twice in another window at the right.[1] Over a figure in the left side of the central window are visible the letters SIS or SCS (Sanctus?) followed by another undecipherable letter. Of a second and less high zone of polychromy under this line of sacred personages, there remains the form of a crowned woman who recalls the feminine saints of Sta. Eulalia de Estahón. The backgrounds are not banded, and the figures themselves have now been virtually denuded of color. The style of Isabarre is a rather heavy adaptation of the Byzantine strain that we have encountered also at Esterri de Aneu, so that the effect is a kind of Roman majesty recalling contemporary Italian frescoes.

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[1] Gudiol seems to me to date these thoroughly Romanesque works too late when he places them at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.

The apse of Valencia de Aneu, between Esterri and Sorpe, contains the relics of a mural cycle which, although unmistakably Romanesque in manner, reveals possible signs of a knowledge of Gothic, such as the sidelong glance of the eyes, and is perhaps therefore to be dated a little later than the frescoes of Isabarre. The craftsmanship is more than ordinarily rude. The Madonna and Child in a mandorla occupy the middle of the semidome and are surrounded at the right by Melchior and Balthasar and at the left by Gaspar to form the composition of the Epiphany. The inscription identifying Melchior is left in

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[1] Dr. Kuhn identifies two of the other forms as grotesque animals, one of which he takes to be a monkey.

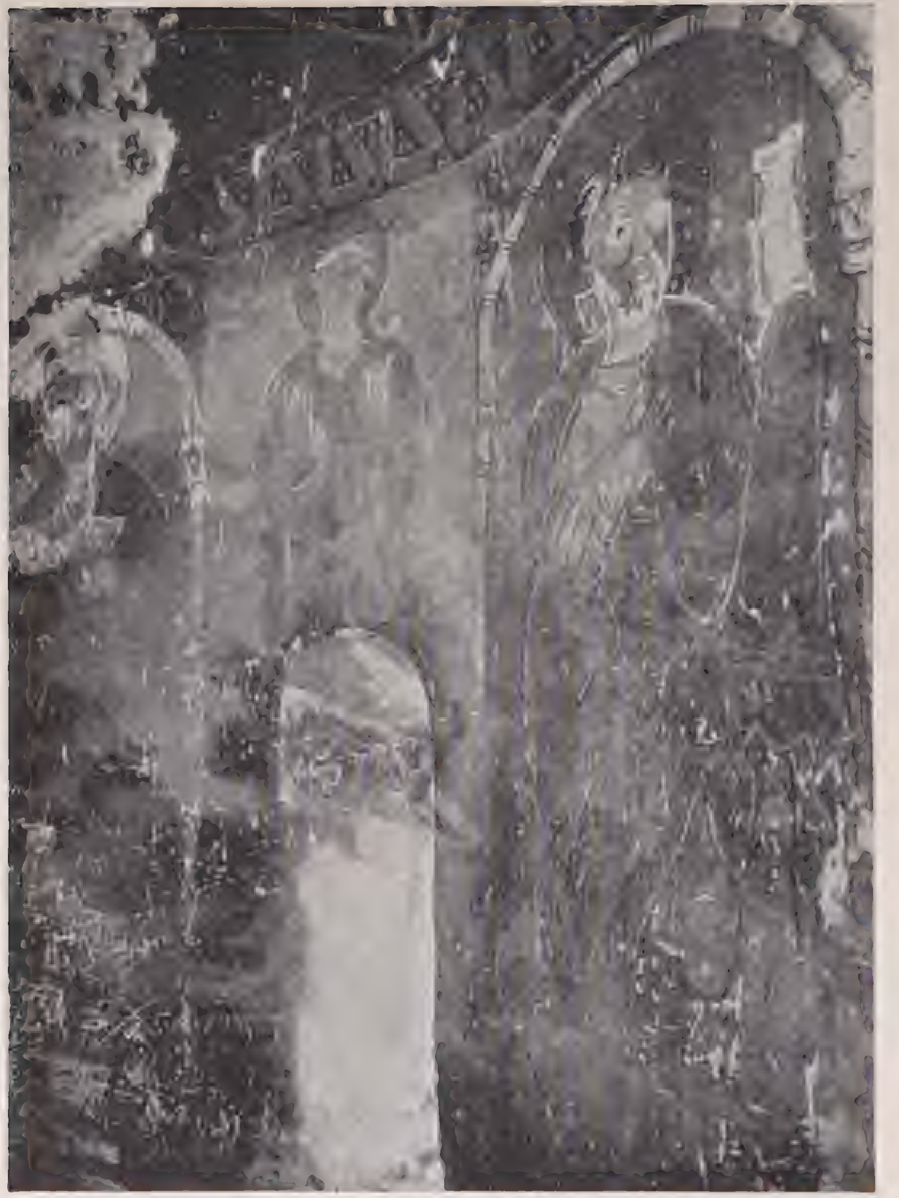

Fig. 24. SECTION OF ZONE OF SAINTS, ISABARRE

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

full; of Balthasar's name the BA remains; and of Gaspar, the letters SPAS (with a final S, as in the apse of Sta. María de Tahull, instead of an R). The Virgin still wears a wimple like that which she displays in the lower zone of S. Clemente de Tahull. From the series of saints under arches in the lower zone at Valencia de Aneu, all but one have practically vanished into indistinctness.

Of the frescoes that are stated to have existed at Escalarre close to Esterri itself I have been able to find no trace. A report is current in the hamlet that they have been sold.

8. Other Late Romanesque Cycles in the Pyrenees

Although the new Gothic style in painting had already in France asserted its right to existence, the Romanesque manner lingered on as a *retardataire* fashion in the frescoes of these Pyrenean churches, as indeed in the antependia and pictorial output of Catalonia in general, until the final years of the thirteenth century and in isolated cases perhaps even later. The mural paintings from the parish church at Andorra la Vieja, the capital of the republic of Andorra, now in the Rómulo Bosch Collection at Barcelona, exhibit an expertness of drawing that itself speaks for a late date, though probably, as in the case of Isabarre, a no more advanced moment than the middle of the thirteenth century. The following parts have been preserved: from the semidome of the principal apse, the lower part of an effigy of the Pantocrator and the Evangelistic signs of the eagle and ox; from the zone beneath, the washing of the Apostles' feet and the Betrayal at the left of the window, and at the right the Flagellation before Pilate and a piece of a further scene of the Passion; from the zone at the bottom, the customary simulated arras; from the inside of a lateral niche of the church, the Annunciation of Zacharias and a figure of the Baptist; and from a spandrel of this niche, the form of a man pouring water or some other liquid. The background of the zone of the Passion is not striped; the nature of the background in the semidome I cannot determine. For the Betrayal a setting of houses rather than of the garden of Gethsemane is strangely employed. The figure at the extreme right of this scene as well as the scourger at the right of the Flagellation are examples of the long-nosed type of Catalan Romanesque caricature.

The frescoes in the apse of the more southerly of the two chapels in the transept on the Epistle side of the cathedral of La Seo de Urgel are now completely hidden by a baroque retable. From the small piece that I was permitted to see, through the courtesy of the canons, by the removal of the tomb of S. Bernard de Traveseras[1] out of the bottom of the retable and from the photographs taken at a time when the whole cycle was visible, I cannot decide to my own satisfaction whether the paintings should be classified in the Romanesque or Franco-Gothic group. Certainly there is much of the Romanesque still left. The section that I have seen and studied is the centre of the Last Supper, which occupies all of the lower of the two zones beneath the semidome and in which Judas is made into a Catalan caricature. At the right of the window in the upper of these zones is depicted the torture of St. Catherine upon the wheels; of the theme or themes at the left, which Gudiol vaguely describes as "representations of saints," I am ignorant. The polychromy of the semidome seems to have virtually disappeared. Gudiol assigns the frescoes to the second half of the thirteenth century, and points out that they are executed, by exception, directly upon the stone without the interposition of a layer of plaster.

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[1] See vol. II, p. 309.

CHAPTER VII

THE CATALAN ROMANESQUE FRESCOES OF THE CHURCHES SOUTH OF THE PYRENEES AND THE RUSTIC MURAL PAINTINGS

1. Tarrasa and the Adjacent District

The frescoes extant south of the Pyrenees in Catalonia logically take their place here in the discussion, not only because of their separate geographical situation, but also because they, like the monuments just considered, belong to the very late Romanesque period, with the possible exceptions of San Martín Sescorts, San Julián de Boada, Santa Cecilia de Granera, and of the group of peasant works. The paintings of Tarrasa and the surrounding country deserve first consideration by reason of their more extensive preservation. In this category we may begin with the sadly repainted decoration of the apse of the right transept in Sta. María at Tarrasa (Fig. 25), since the themes, which have to do with St. Thomas of Canterbury, provide us with a definite date before which they could not have been executed. Inasmuch as he was martyred in 1170 and canonized in 1173 and in the lower zone of narrative is depicted with a halo (though curiously not so in the semidome), the paintings must have been done after the third quarter of the twelfth century, and, to judge from stylistic evidence, they belong probably to the very end of the century or the beginning of the thirteenth. Puig assigns them to this period on grounds of costume.[1] Certain factors in the decoration of the semidome are rare or unique in Spain, the encompassing of the Pantocrator with the seven Apocalyptic candlesticks[2] and His activity of laying books upon the heads of the two figures who occupy the rest of the space on either side of Him, St. Thomas and

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[1] *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, VI, 2 (1915–1920), 773.

[2] The *motif* occurs in much the same way at Leon; but at Polinyá the candlesticks surround the Lamb instead of the Pantocrator, and in the frescoes of Sta. María de Mur the Pantocrator is set amidst the lamps, not the candlesticks, of the Apocalypse.

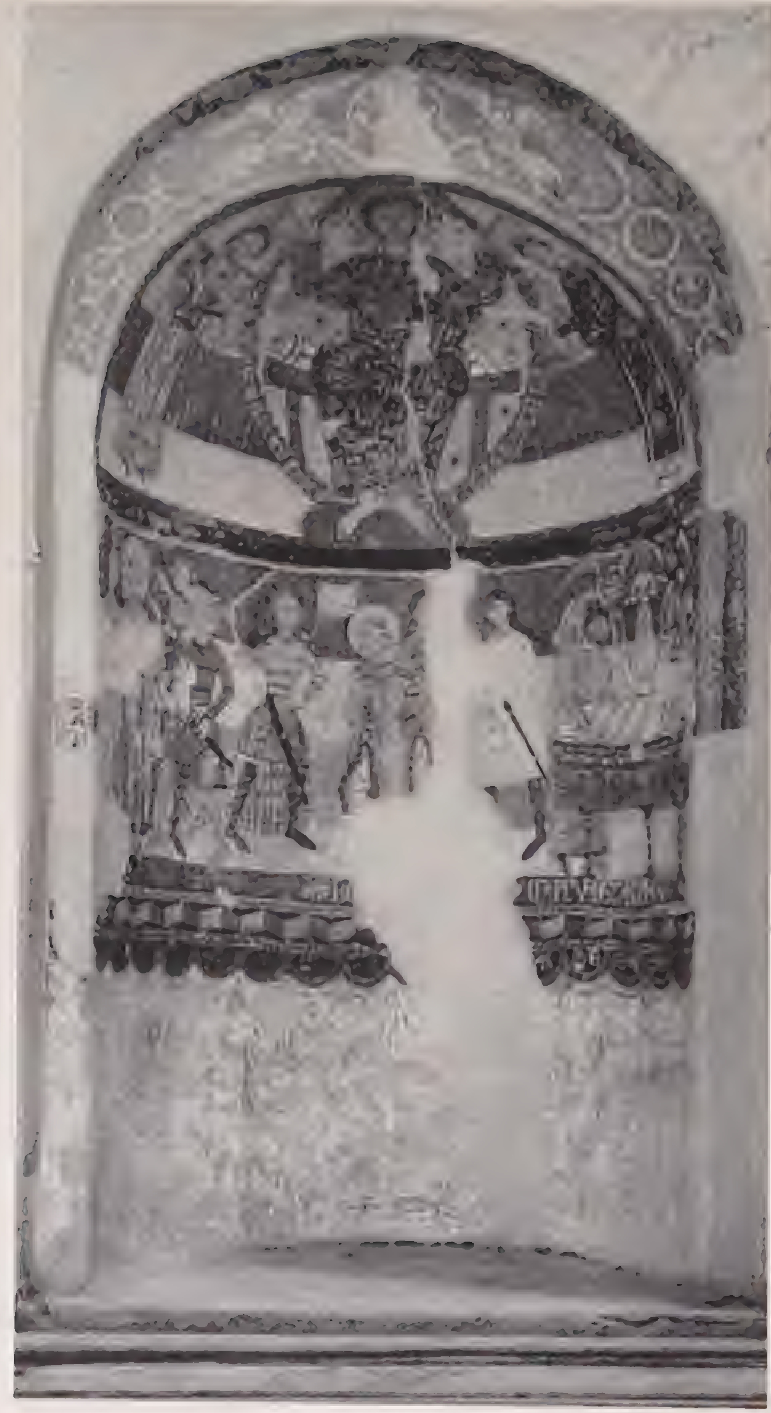

Fig. 25. SOUTH APSE, STA. MARÍA, TARRASA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

his cross-bearer, Edward Grim. The zone below does not contain a line of saints but three episodes connected with the martyrdom of St. Thomas, rendered with more than an ordinary popular spirit and rudeness because of the utter absence of iconographic models. Even the attempt, however, at new, difficult, and animated compositions is laudable. The three episodes depicted are the saint undergoing the taunts of his persecutors, the actual murder, and the translation of the soul to heaven at the interment. The executioners, especially the assassin who strikes down the saint, are accommodated to the type that is frequently and colloquially used for a man of the people in the antependia. The face of the arch in front of the apse is adorned with pure design and at the top with two angels spreading a cloth before the representation of St. Thomas's soul, which they are carrying to heaven, a composition that repeats the similar scene in the zone of narrative. The curious fact of a cult of St. Thomas à Becket so soon after his death in so distant a country as Catalonia, although it is confirmed by the existence of an altar to his honor in the cathedral of Barcelona in 1186, still calls for an adequate explanation beyond the general stir created throughout Christendom by the dramatic circumstances of his death.[1] Since the residence of the pope at Rome aroused in Italy more interest in new canonizations, the early cult of St. Thomas in that country is more intelligible. In the chapel dedicated to him in the cathedral of Anagni (where Alexander III, who canonized him, had long sojourned), he is aligned with other saints about Our Lord in paintings of the late twelfth or first half of the thirteenth century; and his martyrdom, perhaps executed before 1187,[2] may be seen on a wall of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Spoleto.

To about the same epoch as the frescoes of this apse in Sta. María de Tarrasa belong the rather numerous mural paintings of the church at the near-lying Barbará. The decidedly Byzantine arrangement of the thematic repertoire has already been mentioned, and the tendency to elongate the forms may likewise have been stimulated by memories of the art of the Christian East. In the semidome of the main apse, little more than the edge of the mandorla is any longer visible, but the embellishment of the curving wall underneath, here grandiosely magnified into two zones of narrative (Fig. 26), is fairly well preserved, even in the color, which is especially clear in the birth and the washing of the Child. The succession of possible examples of Spanish naturalism in the upper zone of narrative of scenes from the Nativity has also been discussed. The naturalistic proclivity certainly does not declare itself in the lower zone of narrative: the iconography for the Entry into Jerusalem,[1] which is spread out to cover the whole right side of the wall, is Byzantine (although Christ is represented in the western mode astride the horse and not in the eastern fashion, side-saddle); and the composition for the Adoration of the Magi, which is expanded over the other side, has the same strict symmetry as on the lateral wall of Sta. María de Tahull, with Herod at the extreme left as a pendant to the Madonna, who (partly obliterated by an extension of the window) is here formally ensconced in the centre of the zone, acting her part in the Epiphany and at the same time performing the architectural function of dividing this scene from the Entry. The painting of the space between the zones of narrative and the pavement is largely effaced but it seems to have represented the usual curtain. On the triumphal arch, the only section that can be plainly identified is the sin of Adam and Eve on the right pilaster at a level with the upper zone of narrative in the apse, revealing the nudes fairly well done for the period and a rather surprisingly naturalistic tree. Almost certainly Cain and Abel are depicted with their offerings on either side of the arch's centre on the soffit. Beneath the temptation of our first parents may be discerned a scene that shows heads peering over walls at two levels and is guessed by Trens to be a representation of the besieged Jerusalem. On the other pilaster of the arch he believes that he can distinguish the Judgment of Solomon. The Elders that surround the Pantocrator in the fragments of painting that remain on the barrel vault of the crossing have the regular Romanesque attributes of the harps and vials. The fact that they hold the harps in the same curious way as at Fenouillar might be indicative of a relationship between the two monuments if the styles and costumes were not so different, if Romanesque art did not present other single instances of the gesture that at Fenouillar and Barbará is repeated again and again, and if this gesture were not in all probability derived in both monuments independently from the Beatus manuscripts. In any case, the analogy of gesture demonstrates the unity of all this Catalan painting. Lower down on the vault the

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[1] Miss King calls my attention to the fact that Eleanor, the daughter of Henry II of England and the wife of Alfonso VIII of Castile, founded a chapel to St. Thomas of Canterbury in the cathedral of Toledo about 1174; but, since Henry II had been responsible for the saint's murder, this expiatory act of his daughter can easily be understood. Cf. Fidel Fita, *Elogio de Doña Leonor de Inglaterra*, Madrid, 1908, pp. 10 and 18.

[2] R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, I (1923), 195.

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[1] W. W. S. Cook, *The Art Bulletin*, X (1927), 177–178.

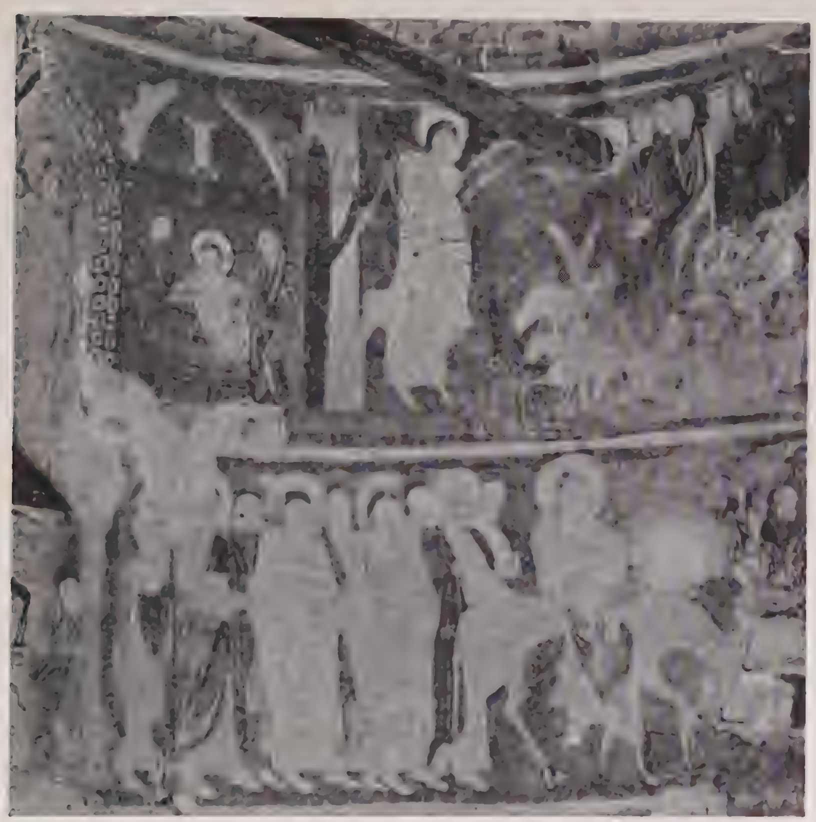

Fig. 26. SECTION OF FRESCOES IN ZONES BENEATH SEMIDOME OF PRINCIPAL APSE, BARBARÁ

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

form of an angel with a sword, possibly St. Michael, suggests that originally the whole celestial hierarchy, or perhaps merely the two archangels Michael and Gabriel, united their praises to those of the Elders.

The right lateral and smaller apse, consecrated to Sts. Peter and Paul, was decorated by the same atelier, but the craftsmanship is somewhat ruder either because the painter had fewer models for the more rarely demanded scenes or because the frescoes were executed at a slightly earlier or later date or by an assistant of the master of the workshop. In the semidome no more can be distinguished than the outlines of a central figure between two companions or two objects. Gudiol sees in them the two olive-trees that symbolize two witnesses for Our Lord in the eleventh chapter of Revelation, and he therefore interprets them as emblems of the two Apostles to whom the chapel is dedicated. The treatment of the space below is anomalous in several ways. The narrative is extended to the ground to the exclusion of the customary counterfeited tapestry. Again at this late moment of Romanesque history, as at Esterri de Aneu, the strict zonal arrangement is relaxed. The space at the right of the small window is practically all occupied from top to bottom by the crucifixion of St. Peter (Fig. 27), contemplated in the lower right-hand corner by a bishop (perhaps the donor)[1] and two women. Only the lower left-hand corner of this side is assigned to a part of another scene, the decapitation of St. Paul as if it were taking place in the same setting as the martyrdom of St. Peter. The kneeling figure of St. Paul fills the lower left-hand corner, but the mail-clad soldier who slays him stands under the window, with more regard, on the part of the painter, for continuing the stress on a central axis created by the window than for an orderly and natural disposition of the episodes. The horizontal piece of St. Peter's upturned cross, however, in a way maintains the feeling of an upper and lower zone; but in the section at the left of the window, although one scene is placed above the other, the zonal tradition is likewise broken and symmetry partially lost, for a broad interval, instead of a narrow band

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[1] The headdress seems to be a mitre of a type that was already used by the end of the twelfth century, not a crown as is stated by Trens, who identifies the figure with an emperor, i. e., Nero. The group is certainly looking up at the martyrdom of St. Peter, not watching, as Trens says, the decapitation of St. Paul.

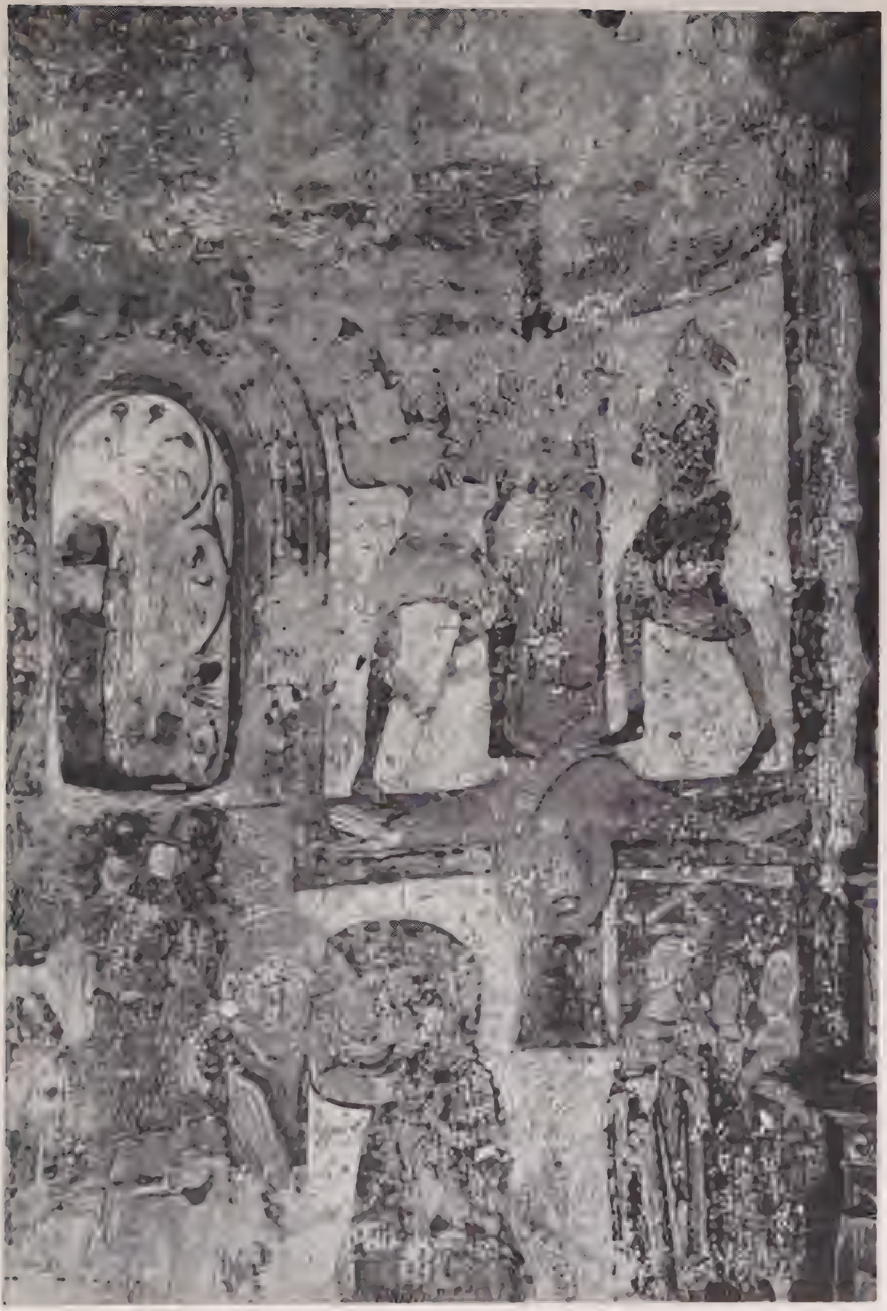

Fig. 27. DECORATION OF SOUTH APSE, BARBARÁ

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

of ornament, separates the two scenes, and the spaces of these scenes do not correspond in height to those above and below the arm of St. Peter's cross in the opposite section. Trens calls the upper scene the preaching of St. Peter; but it might be the delivery of the keys, and Gudiol has still other suggestions from the life of the Apostle. Not enough remains of the lower scene to justify Trens's denomination of it as St. Peter walking upon the waves.

Byzantine affiliations are still further revealed by the theme of the semidome of the left lateral apse, the representation of the Holy Cross flanked by Constantine and Helen, which belonged essentially to the iconographic repertoire of the eastern church. From the disintegrated fragments of painting, Trens has successfully deciphered this theme, as well as, more questionably, the subjects on the vertical wall below. The Cross at the centre of the semidome is held by Constantine on the left and Helen on the right (Fig. 28), while it is reverenced above by two angels and underneath at the feet of Constantine by three (or four) men and at the feet of Helen by three women. Whether this scene signifies the ecclesiastical feast of the Exaltation of the Cross is not certain. In the Menologium of Basil II, it is figured by a haloed man, perhaps St. Macarius, the bishop of Jerusalem at the time of the discovery of the Cross, offering the sacred emblem for adoration, and this may have been the regular Byzantine mode of picturing the feast, or the representation with Constantine and Helen may have been a second way of setting it forth. Trens speaks of the representation with St. Macarius as if it were an earlier Byzantine manner of figuring the feast, upon which that with Constantine and Helen later encroached; but the version with Constantine and Helen was a separate and frequent Byzantine theme from the first, derived ultimately, in all probability, from the monumental sculptured group of the subject set up in Constantinople in the First Golden Age. The composition was employed also upon Byzantine reliquaries of fragments of the Cross and occidental reliquaries of Byzantine derivation. Two angels were united to the group at Constantinople as they are at Barbará, but the simple Latin cross of the Spanish fresco is not the double-barred emblem of the Byzantine iconography of the theme. An effaced form

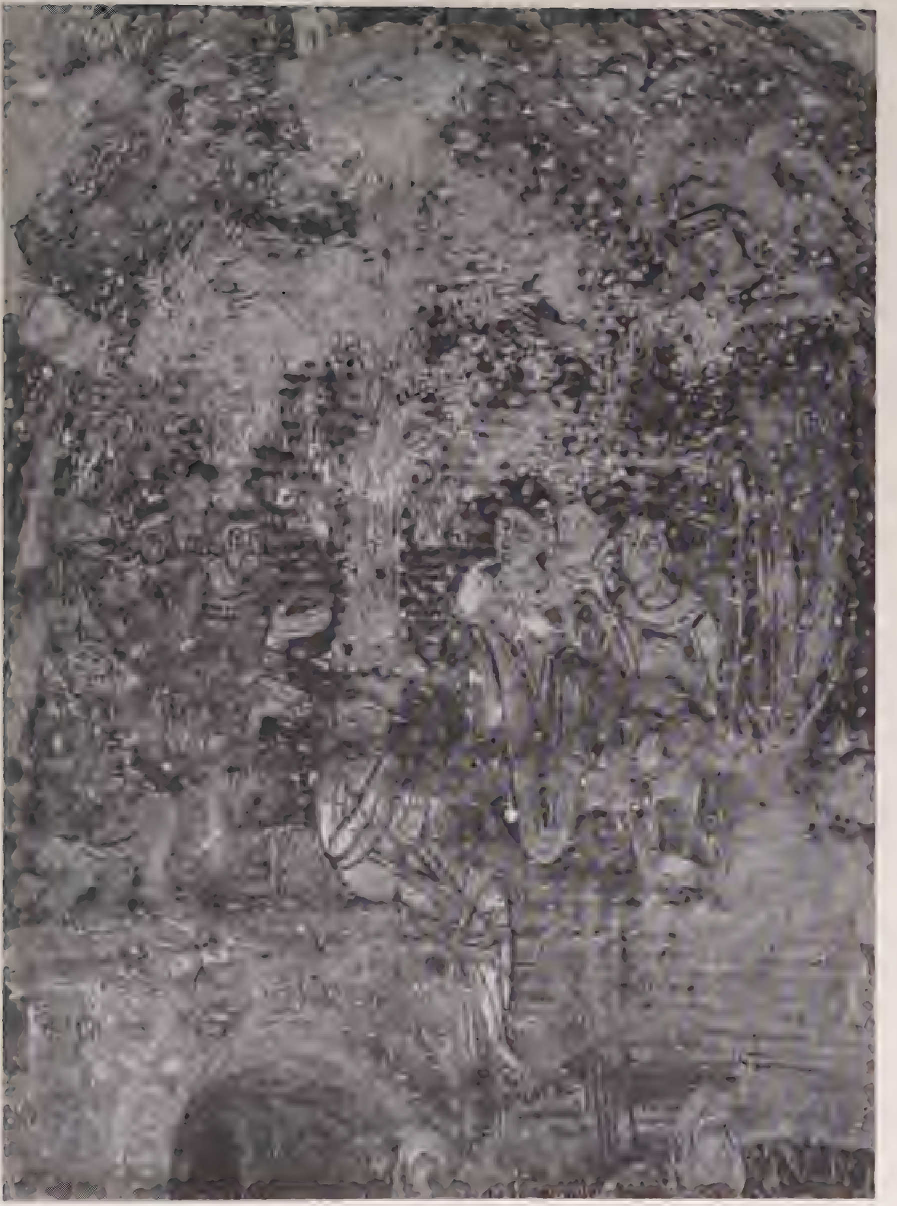

FIG. 28. DECORATION OF NORTH APSE, BARBARÁ

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

behind Constantine and one of the forms behind Helen are divined by Trens, with doubtful correctness, to be St. Macarius and his successor in the see, St. Cyriacus, who was also connected with the discovery of the Cross before his elevation to the episcopate. With the Exaltation, or at least with the theme of Constantine and Helen, the artist has wished to telescope a suggestion of the other feast celebrated by the Church in honor of the Cross, its Invention, and has therefore placed just under the Cross, at the lower edge of the semidome, the dead man or sick woman whose restoration proved the verity of the relic at the time of its finding. Among the tatters of frescoes on the vertical wall Trens believes that he can distinguish at least one scene, the martyrdom of St. Cyriacus. The representation of Constantine and Helen with the Cross at Barbará is not quite unique in Romanesque art, since it is found, for example, for the feast of the Invention, in miniatures of the Teutonic Romanesque manuscripts of the Gospel-book of St. Erentrud in the Royal Library, Munich, and of the Antiphonarium of St. Peter in the abbey of St. Peter at Salzburg, both executed shortly before 1150.[1] In these illuminations, however, the composition includes no further figures than Constantine and Helen. The style of the left apse at Barbará reveals the workshop of the principal apse.

The members of this shop seem likewise to have been the authors of the deteriorated frescoes of the old church now attached as a school-room to the more recent parish church of Polinyá in the same region, although they possibly labored here at a slightly earlier date. The principal interest of the cycle is that it presents us with the first indubitable instance of the decoration of the nave with scenes from the Apocalypse, thus perhaps exemplifying in theme, if not in composition, the influence of the Beatus manuscripts. The polychrome embellishment of the semidome of the apse has perished, but the zone beneath still preserves in part four scenes from the Infancy, divided by a window above which is a medallion of the Cross. On earlier pages we have had occasion to note the naturalism of the goat in what remains of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and, as at Barbará, in a spot corresponding to His Byzantine position, at the centre of the barrel vault in front of the apse, the Pantocrator accompanied by the Evangelistic signs, which are here exceptionally large and impressive. Only the paintings of the right half of the barrel vault and of the right wall below have been left, so that now nothing more can be seen than two of the signs and a section of the Saviour's mandorla, surrounded by the wavy *motif* that symbolizes clouds. The first horizontal zone, still on the curve of the barrel vault, displays the seven-eyed Lamb of the fifth chapter of Revelation, flanked by the third and fourth Horsemen of the sixth chapter (Fig. 29). Between the Evangelistic signs above are three miniature buildings, evidently the remaining symbols of three of the seven Churches of Asia, and the Lamb is set against a background of the seven candlesticks. Scattered here and there are fragments

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[1] I owe this information to Professor Porter.

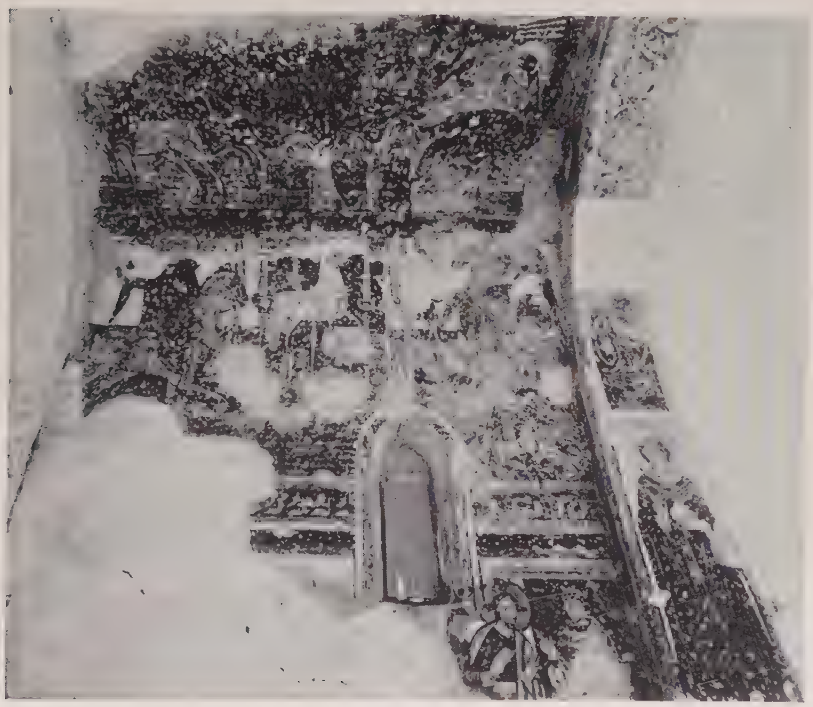

FIG. 29. FRESCOES IN NAVE, POLINYÁ

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

of Apocalyptic inscriptions. Of a second zone of narrative from the New Testament, on the vertical wall, only a scene that may depict Christ before Pilate may now be distinguished. The preservation of this fragment is better, as well as that of a splendidly monumental figure of a sainted bishop in red on the pilaster which supports the transverse rib in front of the bay of the nave with the Apocalyptic scenes.

2. The District of Vich and the Region North of Barcelona

Of the frescoes in the district of Vich, where the themes of the early chapters of Genesis appear to have enjoyed special favor, Gudiol is right in selecting as the earliest those of San Martín Sescorts, although they seem too sophisticated to admit his dating of soon after 1068, the probable year of the church's consecration, and should rather be placed in the twelfth century. One needs only to observe the more expert and naturalistic rendering of the nude in the frescoes of San Saturnino de Osormort, which belong to the beginning of the thirteenth century, the usual date for mural paintings in the region of Vich, in order to realize the chronological priority of Sescorts. What may still be seen (though only by the Monte Cristo-like feat of crawling through a narrow tunnel at the side of the present altar) is found on the walls of two small chapels or turrets projecting from the main apse, a narrative zone in each turret set above a simulated curtain and capped by a little dome the frescoed theme of which is in neither case any longer distinguishable. In the narrative zone of the left turret are Adam and Eve covering their nakedness beside the Tree of Life; in the right turret they are expelled from Eden by the angel. The extraordinary treatment of the background has already been considered.

The most extensive relics in the district of Vich, belonging already to the early thirteenth century, exist in the apse of San Saturnino de Osormort. Since only a bit of the mandorla is preserved in the semidome, it is impossible to say whether the Pantocrator or the Virgin was here depicted; but Gudiol thinks that the latter alternative is the more likely, because certain letters underneath could perhaps once be read to spell . . . GO (Virgo?) MARIA. The upper zone of the vertical wall has the habitual standing Apostles. The second Apostle from the right end of the line has still the "flying fold" of Languedoc, but the drapery of the third Apostle from the left end betrays pretty clearly that we are in the thirteenth century. A later date is also proclaimed by the animated ease with which there is rendered the *motif* of conversation among the saints that we have found in S. Miguel de la Seo and Sta. María de Mur. The niche of the window in this zone is ornamented with pure design. It is the lower zone, however, in which is concentrated the chief interest of Osormort, for it contains five scenes from the opening of Genesis, the creation of Adam (Fig. 30), his sending forth into Eden, God showing him the Tree of Life, the temptation, and the expulsion.

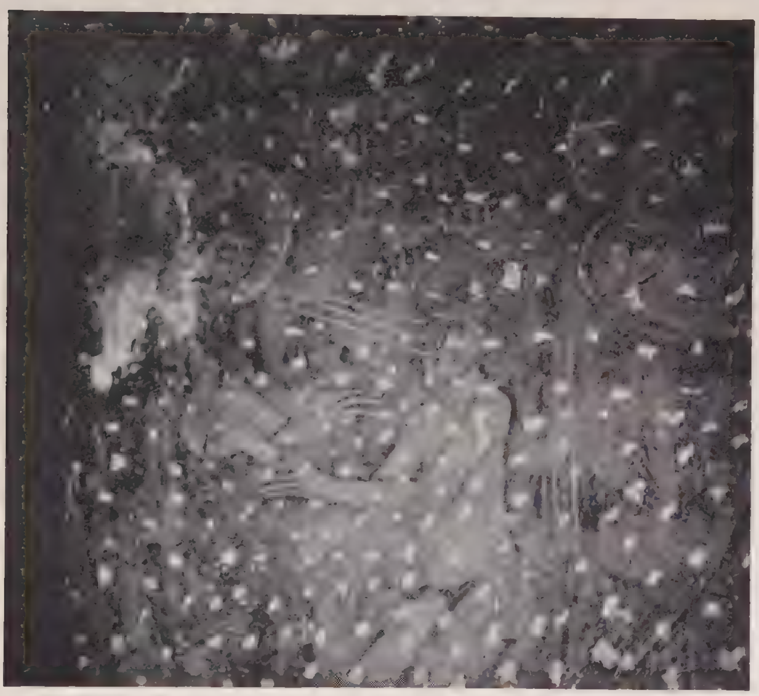

Fig. 30. CREATION OF ADAM, SAN SATURNINO DE OSORMORT

(Photo. Kuhn)

Although the technique is still essentially Romanesque, with the definition achieved through lines upon flat color, the nudes, especially Adam in the sending into the garden, are in advance of their time, quite the best in all Spanish Romanesque painting, rendered with a few telling and powerful strokes of the brush.

The frescoes in the apse of another church in the district of Vich, San Martín del Brull, have now almost entirely perished; but the Museum of Barcelona possesses copies of certain fragments, made before the deterioration had progressed quite so far, that demonstrate the paintings to have been executed at the same time as those of Osormort and probably by the same master. Although the polychromy of the semidome was already obliterated when Gudiol first saw the monument, he believed that he could distinguish a part of the eagle of St. John, so that he concluded that the Pantocrator had been there represented. In the next zone below it was once possible to decipher, against the curious checkered background that has been mentioned on an earlier page, vestiges of scenes from the Infancy — the actual Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Epiphany, and the Presentation; and, in the five niches at a still lower level, as many episodes from the story of Adam and Eve. The section that is best preserved at the present day is the unusually high, simulated tapestry in the bottom zone. About all that can now be seen above is found in the zone of Genesis, but even here, except in the central niche, the forms are virtually faded beyond recognition. This central niche is devoted to a well drawn representation of the divine judgment upon our first parents. Its arch is occupied by a small embodiment of the Deity as the Pantocrator, and the sides by the discomfited Adam and Eve. It needs only a glance at these nudes, at the bearded face of Adam, or again at the head of St. Joseph, preserved, in the Barcelona copy, from the Nativity, to realize the close analogies to Osormort.

If we call the painting at St. André de Sorède in Roussillon Gothic, the church of Santa Ana de Montral, near Gurb, just north of Vich has the distinction of possessing, on the end wall of the chapel opening out of the right arm of the transept, the one Crucifixion preserved to us, however dilapidated, from the Catalan Romanesque frescoes. St. John Evangelist (Fig. 31) and (more fragmentary) the Virgin stand beside the cross and are accompanied by the inscriptions of their names. Above the arm of the cross, over the Virgin, is a dimly seen, short figure that may represent a mourning angel, or an angel holding the sun or moon, a piece of symbolism which is so frequent a component factor of mediaeval representations of the scene and which is depicted in the Crucifixion on the south wall of the Panteón de los Reyes at Leon.[1] The same late date for the painting as for the other frescoes of the region, the end of the twelfth or early thirteenth century, is betrayed particularly by the figure of St. John.

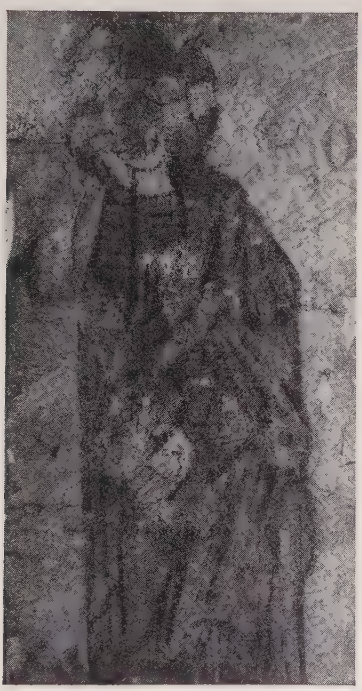

Fig. 31. ST. JOHN IN CRUCIFIXION,
SANTA ANA DE MONTRAL
(Photo. Kuhn)

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[1] Not, of course, the well known Crucifixion on the east wall of the Panteón.

The vestiges of frescoes in San Julián de Boada (also spelled Buada), a Mozarabic church, probably of the tenth century, near La Bisbal, east of Gerona, are so exiguous and in such a complete state of deterioration that the ascription of a very definite date in the Romanesque epoch is a precarious undertaking. The drapery of the Pantocrator (Fig. 32), as far as it may be seen, would suggest the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. If the shadowy and fragmentary outlines of the subjects on the barrel vaulting of the easternmost bay have been unravelled correctly, the decoration was practically identical with that of St. Martin de Fenouillar. The presence of the Pantocrator at the centre of the vault is certain; the Evangelistic signs, virtually certain. In the first zone on the curving surface are seated figures, who would then be the Elders or perhaps rather, since they are few in number, the Apostles; and, more

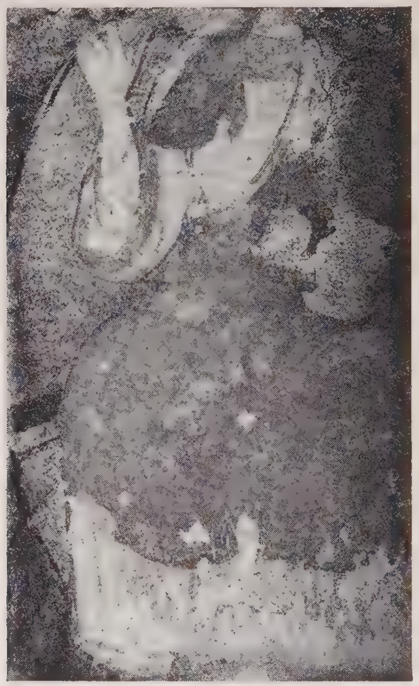

FIG. 32. PANTOCRATOR, SAN JULIÁN DE BOADA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

dubiously, the second zone would seem to have contained the scenes of the Infancy, but all that can now be descried consists in two forms adoring another. The customary striped background may more easily be discerned. The soffit of the arch of entrance to this eastern bay or apse is embellished with medallions (of saints?); and dim vestiges of color indicate that the next bay of the nave, between the two transverse horseshoe arches, was also treated with figured polychromy.

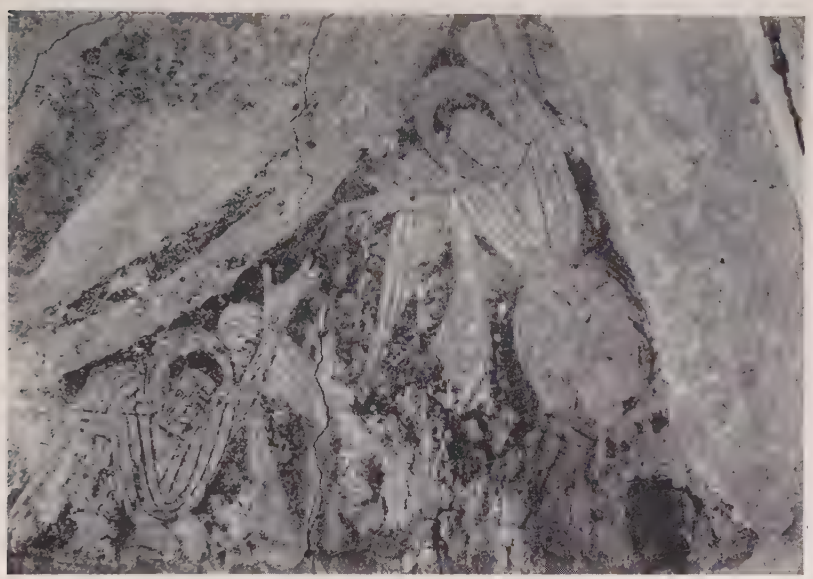

Fig. 33. SECTION OF FRESCO IN APSE, STA. CECILIA, GRANERA

(Photo. Kuhn)

Judgment is also hampered by the dilapidated condition of the painting in the apse of the little ruined church of Sta. Cecilia at Granera, some fifteen miles directly east of Manresa. In the semidome may still be discerned the Pantocrator seated in a nimbus supported by four angels (Fig. 33), and the wall of the apse beneath was possibly, though not certainly, decorated with a simulated curtain. The craftsmanship is somewhat inferior, but there are no elements incongruous with a dating in the late twelfth century.

3. The Rustic Frescoes

There remains for consideration a small group of Catalan frescoes of a style quite different from that appearing in all other examples and of a technical incompetency that *prima facie* might be ascribed either to an absolutely untutored rusticity of the authors or to a very primitive date at which they might have worked. No stylistic relation necessarily exists between the cycles of the group beyond their boorishness. The specimen in which the problem between a rustic and a primitive explanation can be most convincingly solved, that found on the right wall of the nave in the church of S. Pedro de Campdevánol close to Ripoll, has unfortunately perished in the ruin of the edifice, and is known only through a copy which was made by its discoverer, Don Ramón de Abadal y Vinyals, and which may be seen through his courtesy at his residence in Barcelona. There can be little doubt that the painter meant to depict the story of Adam and Eve. At the right a humorously obese and naked Eve stands at one side of the Tree of Life, laden with leaves and many apples, and at the other side seem to be Adam and an angel. The other scene, at the left, appears to represent one angel expelling a now clothed Adam or Eve and another hovering in the air as warden of the forbidden Eden. The legends *Pumo* (from *Pomum*, fruit) and *Comedit homo* (the man eats) could possibly be once deciphered. Since the fresco was found on an earlier wall that was later concealed by a wall of a remodelling in the twelfth or thirteenth century, it is approximately dated before the remodelling and sometime after the construction of the original church, which has been ascribed to the ninth or tenth century; and Dr. Kuhn adduces cogent evidence which has finally persuaded me that the fresco in question was executed at least as early as these centuries. Inasmuch, indeed, as the assignment of the original church to the ninth or tenth century rests on no secure proof, the building may have been a product of a still more remote and Visigothic epoch; and the majority of the many parallels to the fresco in coins, sculpture, tomb-stones, and manuscripts that Dr. Kuhn brings forward belong to the Merovingian and Visigothic epochs and to the so-called barbaric century, the eighth. He finds exactly this sort of rudeness, the same pear-shaped heads, and the same peculiar mode of drawing the brows, circular eyes, and nose by a single, unbroken line. Among the most irresistible parallels are those from the eighth century, the sculptured slabs in S. Martino and the Baptistery at Cividale in Italy and the miniatures of the St. Gall manuscript of the *Leges Barbarorum*.[1] The manner of the Carolingian Renaissance in the ninth and tenth centuries was more artistically conscious and quite diverse, as possibly exemplified even in a Catalan monument, the frescoes of S. Miguel de Tarrasa; and although Dr. Kuhn points out instances of the barbaric style of Campdevánol living on into this period and even afterwards, the most sensible procedure, until evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, is to attribute the lost cycle to the seventh or eighth century, the production of which it most resembles. But the possibility is not to be excluded that the paintings embody, in this country church, a survival of the older manner even as late as the eleventh or twelfth century up to the time of the architectural remodelling. Dr. Kuhn has gathered together from manuscripts of the tenth and later centuries, especially the Beatus manuscripts, instances of the strange bulkiness of form that occurs in the Adam and Eve, but the fact that it appears at Campdevánol in an even more exaggerated aspect than in the miniatures might be taken as an argument for an earlier date. The color, as far as the copy is exact, is that of the normal Romanesque manner, but in no other sense does the style of the fresco bear any relation to the more sophisticated production of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In the case of the frescoes in the church of the castle at Marmellá, near Montmell, north of Vendrell (Fig. 34), the puerility may be due to the counter explanation of the rural painter's absolute artistic inexperience. Since it appears to be established that the church was built in the eleventh century, the paintings must be subsequent to that date; and, because of the Romanesque theme that seems to occupy the apse, we may surmise that they are a blundering countryman's attempt to imitate in the Romanesque epoch the achievements of his betters or that

[1] E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, plate 150a.

they were not executed until the thirteenth or fourteenth century when in remote districts Romanesque traditions dragged out a lingering death. It is certainly strange, however, that so crude a workman should be asked to decorate so important a structure as the church of a castle, and Professor Porter thinks that the rusticity may be the effect of a later retouching. The polychromy of the apse, in its existing appearance, looks like a clumsy effort to reproduce the customary Pantocrator, perhaps with the Evangelistic signs and zone of saints, but it is impossible to make out the subjects in the four bands of polychromy on the pointed triumphal arch. Gudiol would like to discern here the story of Adam and Eve, as at Campdevánol, and the effigies of feminine saints.

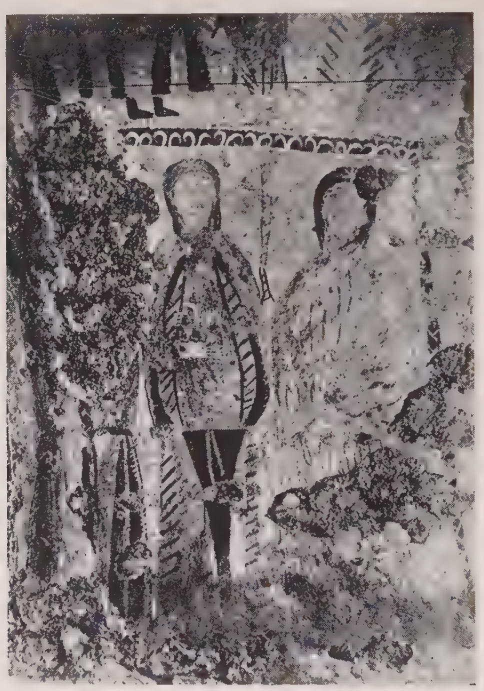

Fig. 34. SECTION OF FRESCOES, MARMELLÁ

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

At least in their present condition, the frescoes on the wall that conceals the apse of S. Pedro at Tarrasa appear to be the

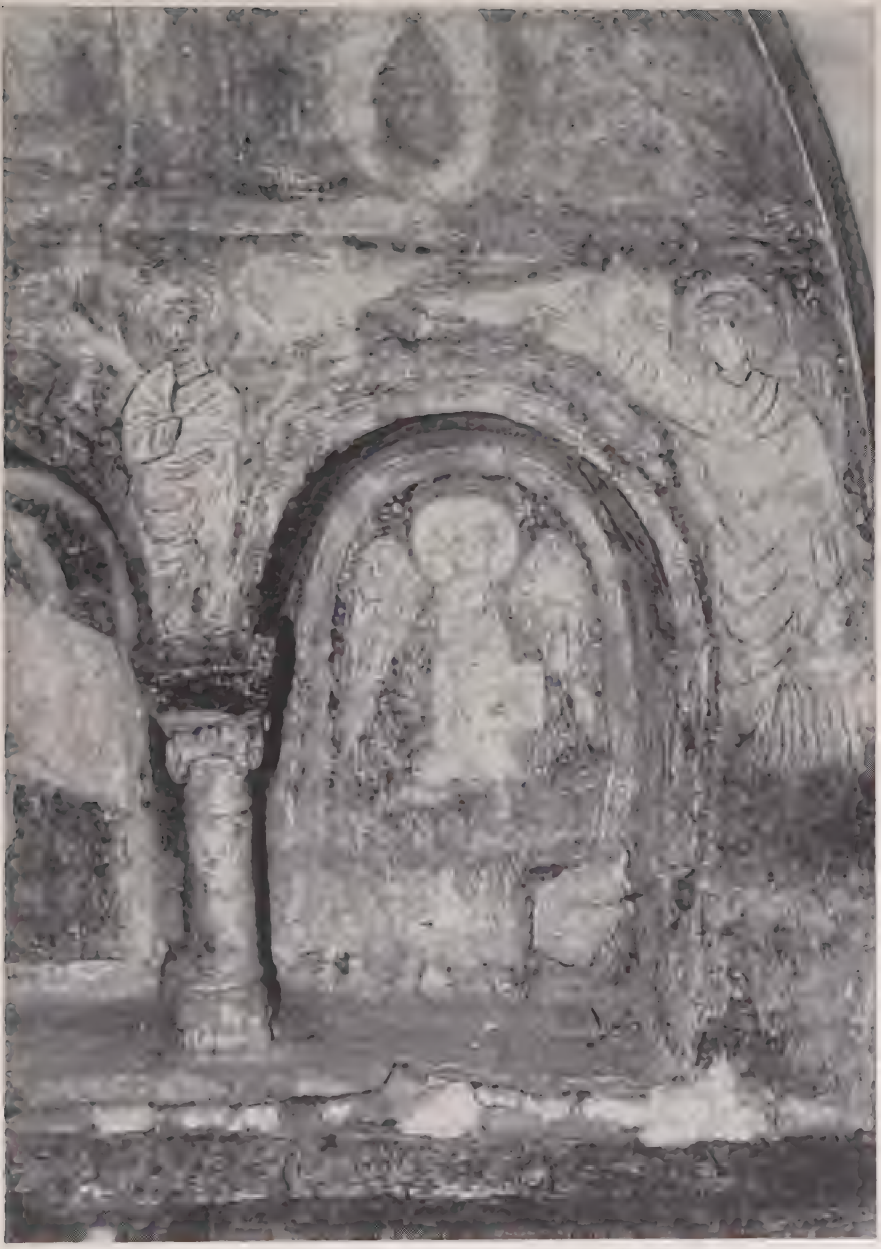

FIG. 35. SECTION OF FRESCOES ON EAST WALL, S. PEDRO, TARRASA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

somewhat less rough production of a peasant, who works in larger masses than his fellow at Marmellá, so that his forms impart a curious impression of puerile conceptions of ghosts. In distinction from Marmellá, however, the broad passages of color afford some support to another theory of Professor Porter that there is here preserved only the under-painting upon which the more sophisticated finishing was superimposed. The outlines suggest that in such case the frescoes of this wall may have been executed by the same atelier who did the much injured Gothic paintings in the nave of the church, which certainly were produced in the thirteenth or even fourteenth century. Since, however, the wall upon which the frescoes in question stand, although subsequent to the probably Visigothic apse that it hides, may have been built in the Carolingian epoch, the architecture does not preclude a Pre-Romanesque date, and those who take pleasure in assigning hoary antiquity to works of art have, of course, proposed as early a moment as the tenth century; but, so far as the present aspect of the style goes, these frescoes might be ascribed to almost any century. The arrangement of the paintings behind the altar in two rows of niches, with a kind of high predella beneath, has suggested to some critics that the decoration of the wall was a primitive substitute for a retable like the very similar structure, embellished by a Gothic hand, in S. Jaime de Frontanyá. If we have to do in S. Pedro with the vestiges of Gothic frescoes, they may very well have taken the place of another, earlier polychromy of the wall as a retable. Either because of the countrified clumsiness of the style or because the defining over-painting has perished, the themes are distinguishable only in part. The recent intelligent cleaning and restoration at Tarrasa, however, has made possible a few certain identifications. The figures in the lower row of niches are the signs of the Evangelists (Fig. 35); the spandrels of the arches of these niches contain angels; and in the upper row two saints have clearly emerged in the two niches, which are flanked at either side by a form like that of an archangel or seraph. One writer has taxed his ingenuity to try to recognize in the curiously animated and enigmatic scene of the predella, where two of the figures assume the posture of *orantes*, the crossing of the Red Sea.

CHAPTER VIII

ROMANESQUE FRESCOES IN ARAGON

In Aragon, almost no mural decoration that may really be called Romanesque has been preserved. This province does not enter upon its importance in the history of Spanish painting until the days of fully developed Gothic. The somewhat retouched frescoes in a chapel of the former cathedral of Roda Ribagorza (Roda de Isábena) north of Benabarre might as well be called Catalan as Aragonese, since the church lies in the border-land between the two provinces, and they belong in part, if not entirely, to the thirteenth century or perhaps even to the first years of the fourteenth; but some of them still follow closely the Romanesque tradition. Of these more Romanesque sections, by far the best piece is the majestic Pantocrator (Fig. 36), more correctly drawn than the strictly Catalan examples, more thoroughly Spanish in ethnic type, and clothed with an ample fluidity of garment that is already prophetic of Gothic, although still treated with Romanesque convention, even to the use of the "flying fold" at the edge of the robe. He is surrounded by the Evangelistic signs and then by a decorative border representing, with smaller figures, probably the signs of the zodiac and the activities of the months and revealing the hand of a man who had possibly seen examples of the new Gothic style. On the barrel vault may still be discerned the figure of St. Michael weighing souls and the representation of the Baptism, not quite so roughly rendered as the figures of the Catalan group of boorish frescoes and perhaps the production of a country artisan who was reviving some tradition of manuscript-illumination that depended chiefly upon line for definition.

The frescoes in a subordinate apse on the south side of the Ermita de S. Juan at Uncastillo in upper Aragon (province of Saragossa), despite a probable date in the early thirteenth century, are more essentially Romanesque than those of Roda, but exhibit some minor variations from the Catalan arrangements of the sacred repertoire. The figure of the large, enthroned Pantocrator is extended not only through the semidome but to the bottom of the zone below (Fig. 37). He is flanked in the semidome itself on each side by a pair of pilgrims who, although they wear short garments and carry staffs, have been described as Apostles. Another innovation is the substitution of two further pilgrims,[1] kissing Christ's feet, for the usual adoring angels. The scenes in the lower zone at either side of the under section of the Saviour's body are both apparently episodes from the life of St. James Major, as well as the event depicted in the spandrels above the arch of the apse. The scene at the right of the throne is plainly his arrest and appearance before a judge, for he is identified by the word *Iacobus* inscribed above his halo.[2] In the balancing scene at the left, where a

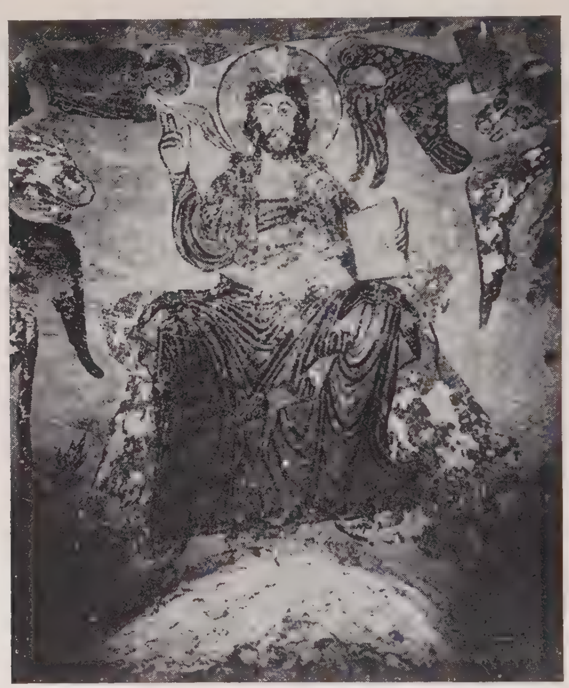

Fig. 36. PANTOCRATOR, RODA RIBAGORZA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

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[1] I cannot agree with Ricardo del Arco that these figures are later additions to the fresco.

[2] Is the *Mi*. . . above the soldiers who perform the arrest the beginning of *Milites*?

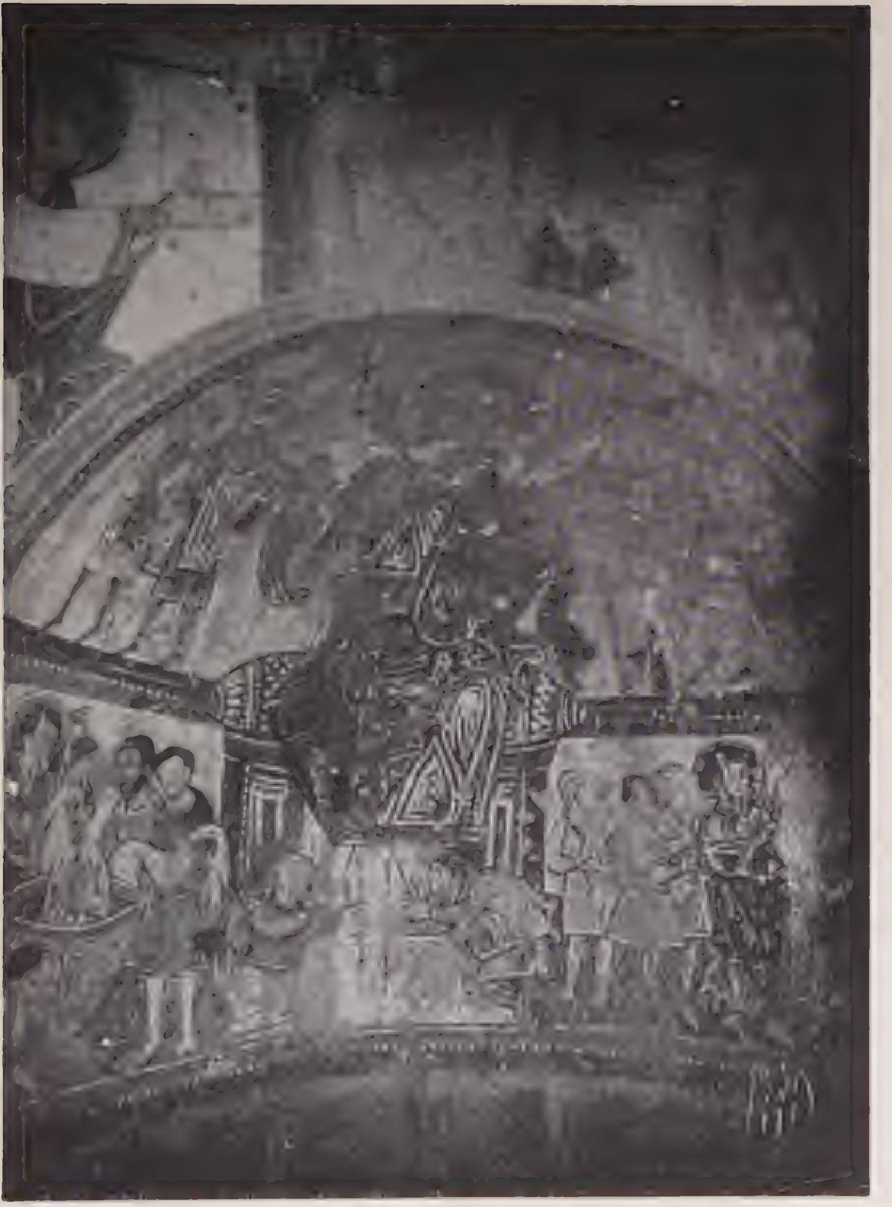

Fig. 37. SOUTH APSE, S. JUAN, UNCASTILLO

(Photo. Mora)

saint is baptizing and the accompanying Latin inscription reads *The people believing on Jesus*, we might wish to recognize the evangelizing activity of St. Peter, which is emphasized in the Acts of the Apostles, whereas the name of St. James is not there specifically mentioned in this connection; but, since it is implied in the Acts that all the Apostles devoted themselves to converting the heathen and Jews, since the baptizing personage appears to be identical with the saint who is being arrested on the other side, and since it was fairly customary to stick to one theme in a cycle of frescoes, the representation is perhaps to be understood as another event from the life of St. James.[1] The scene above the arch, the best preserved section of the frescoes, may likewise be meant as the calling of Sts. John and James rather than of Peter and Andrew. A calling it certainly seems to depict, for two Apostles in the left spandrel stretch out their hands to Christ, followed by a disciple, in the right spandrel. If it is the call of Sts. John and James rather than of Peter and Andrew, it identifies the Apostle in the arrest as James Major, the brother of John, instead of James Minor. Above the centre of the arch, a figure is represented as blessing, probably God the Father. The mural paintings are preserved also on the pilaster and engaged column directly at the left of the apse. The pilaster displays, at the top, the flagellation of a saint and, underneath, his burial, perhaps further episodes from St. James's life, although in the scourging the personage in question appears to be a youth. Possibly the two scenes tell rather the story of the saint remains of whose form may be seen on the engaged column. The subjects of the vestiges of polychromy on the pilaster at the other side of the column cannot be deciphered. The execution at Uncastillo is more proficient than at Roda but also reminiscent of occidental illumination.

The ruined church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores at Monflorite, close to Huesca at the south, built in the last quarter of the twelfth century, preserves in the zone of the apse beneath the semidome vestiges of what may have been Romanesque rather than Gothic polychromy. At present there may be discerned painted representations of buildings and a scene of persons eating at a table, perhaps the Marriage at Cana or the Last Supper.

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[1] Ricardo del Arco wrongly interprets these two lower scenes as from the life of Our Lord.

Inasmuch as the frescoes that are gradually being brought to light at Sos near Uncastillo appear to be distinctly Gothic and not, as has been claimed, of the ninth or tenth century, they are reserved for treatment on a subsequent page.

CHAPTER IX

ROMANESQUE FRESCOES IN THE WESTERN PART OF THE PENINSULA

In western Spain, the cycles of Romanesque painting are conspicuously fewer than in Catalonia; but in several of those monuments that remain, the extant decoration is ampler, the preservation better, and the execution on a higher aesthetic level. The treasure of west-Spanish Romanesque pictorial relics, moreover, is in these latter days being much augmented. The instruments of the patient local archaeologists are constantly picking the whitewash from mural paintings of the epoch and laying them bare; in more than one church it is evident that cycles of frescoes are still hidden under the coats of plaster; and even works that have long been visible on the walls are recent discoveries to the critical world.

The most celebrated and beautiful assemblage of all Spanish Romanesque frescoes is found on the vaults and walls of the Panteón de los Reyes attached as a narthex to S. Isidoro at Leon. The structure is divided into three aisles, each covered by two polychrome quadripartite vaults; and in the iconography there is some attempt to bring the themes of the vaults in each aisle into relationship with the subject represented on the division of the east wall in front of the aisle. Beyond the set of painted vaults, to the west, is another row of vaults without polychromy. The vault of the eastern bay of the nave, or more properly central aisle, is adorned with the Pantocrator and Evangelistic signs, a subject that thus occurs in a spot corresponding to its position in a Byzantine dome. The vault of the other bay of the central aisle contains the Last Supper (Fig. 38). In the very formal Romanesque symmetry of this composition, the figures that balance one another in the four corners present a perplexing problem. The lower left corner is occupied by the haloed St. Simon eating and the lower right corner partly by a haloed figure pouring wine into a cup and labelled

$\overline{SCS}$ *Macia* (St. Matthias) and partly by the form of a rooster, perhaps the bird of St. Peter. For the sake, thus, of creating four symmetrical corners two Apostles are transferred to the other side of the table with Judas Iscariot. The upper left corner contains an unhaloed personage standing and stretching forth a cup and accompanied by the inscription *Marcialis* (Martial) *Pincerna* (a surname or a Latin adaptation of πιγκέρνης, a cup-bearer); his standing unhaloed pendant in the upper right corner presents a receptacle with a fish and is flanked by the inscription *Tadeus* (Thaddaeus). The cruxes in the problem are: the introduction into the Last Supper of St. Matthias, who was elected to fill the place of Judas Iscariot in the Apostolic band after the Ascension; the absence of St. Thaddaeus (who was called also Jude) at the actual table and the presence, above, of a figure without a halo called Thaddaeus; and the

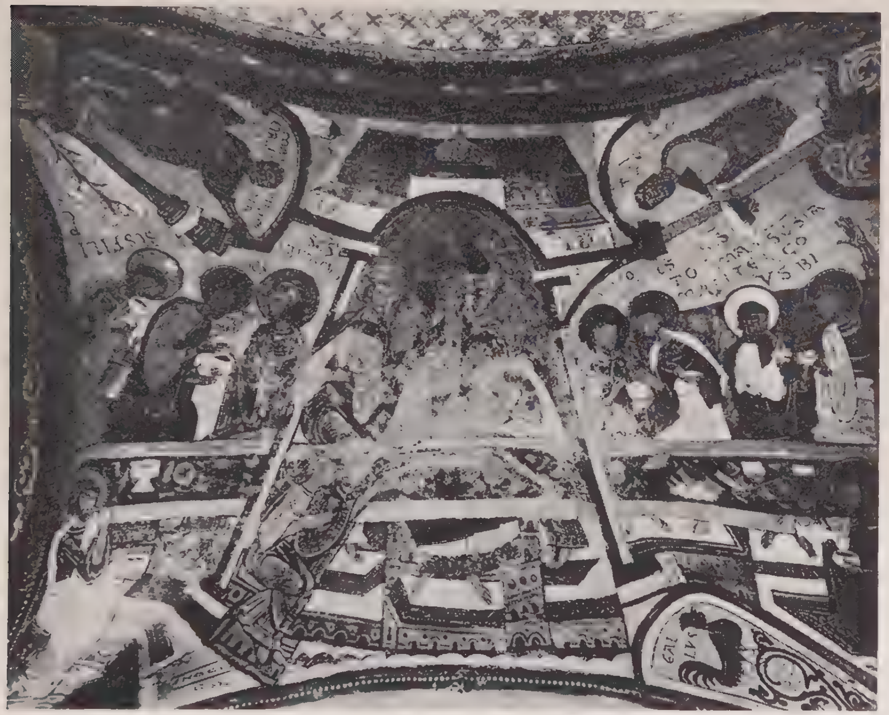

FIG. 38. LAST SUPPER, PANTEÓN DE LOS REYES, S. ISIDORO, LEON

(Photo. Winocio)

identification of Martial. The most likely solution of the first two difficulties is that proposed by Pérez Llamazares: through an error or through some strange caprice the names of Matthias and Thaddaeus were interchanged by the painter, so that the figure intended to represent St. Thaddaeus at the table (a natural pendant to St. Simon, since the feast of both Apostles occurs on October 28) was labelled *St.* Matthias, and the figure intended to represent an uncanonized Matthias, not *St.* Matthias, was labelled Thaddaeus. The painter wrote the abbreviation for *Sanctus* beside the personage in the lower right corner and then curiously substituted the word Matthias for the Thaddaeus that he should have written, and transferred the name Thaddaeus to the real Matthias in the upper right corner. Or perhaps the mistakes are the bungling of a later repainter. Who, then, were the unhaloed Matthias and Martial? The very general supposition has been that Martial was a donor. Ballesteros [1] states that the *Pincerna* or cup-bearer was becoming a regular functionary in the courts of western Spain in the twelfth century. In the church of S. Pablo del Campo at Barcelona a stone records the dedication of an altar by a man the second part of whose name is the same, Pedro Pincerna, whether again the *Pincerna* be a surname or a title of honor. If Matthias is really another contemporary and not the Apostle, he may very well have been Martial's companion in benefaction. It is no objection to this theory that one of them is entitled cup-bearer and holds forth a cup and that the other offers a fish (a Christian symbol of Christ and therefore of His Real Presence in the sacrament of the altar), for they might easily, without blasphemy, have thus conceived themselves as participants in the sacred scene, as so often in the art of the Renaissance. The field, however, is open to almost any conjecture. They may have been the artists or simply personages of the royal court, further members of which are depicted in other sections of the paintings. Miss King ingeniously suggests that Martial was St. Martial of Limoges, who is said to have held the towel for the washing of the feet at the Last Supper and who might also have been imagined as cup-bearer at the institution of the sacrament.[2]

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[1] *Historia de España*, II, 550.

[2] *The Way of St. James*, II, 202.

In the tympanum of the arch of the east wall in front of the central aisle, there exists, in an advanced stage of degeneration, a medallion of the Agnus Dei upheld by two angels and surrounded by what may have been the signs of the zodiac, a composition that repeats a section of the sculptured tympanum of the western portal in the southern façade, even to the presence of the zodiac. Pérez Llamazares, with his desire to force a Eucharistic meaning out of as much of the iconographical repertoire as possible, interprets the medallion of the Lamb as the Host and goes so far as to read into the zodiac a symbolism connected with the Blessed Sacrament. His reason is the perpetual exposition of the Host in this church, a custom that he dates back at least to the eleventh century. According to the tendency of the donors or painters to establish a relationship between the themes of the vaults in each aisle and the subject of the fresco on the east wall in front of the aisle, the presence of the Last Supper on one of the vaults would be a factor in confirming the Eucharistic explanation of the angels with the medallion; but the Agnus Dei enclosed in a circle is a common Romanesque *motif* in places where there is no special occasion for Eucharistic symbolism. Beneath the representation of the Agnus Dei, on the wall that fills the space of the original eastern door, are the blurred remains of frescoes of a later, Gothic vintage, the discussion of which may be properly postponed. They concern themselves with St. Catherine, to whom the Panteón was dedicated.

The eastern vault of the left aisle oddly repeats at the centre the Pantocrator of the adjoining vault of the central aisle, now, however, conceived more definitely and unmistakably as the Lord of the book of Revelation, with the two-edged sword in His mouth. The angel delivering the Revelation to St. John in the section of the vault below the Saviour's feet is balanced by the seven candlesticks in the section above His head; and a kneeling St. John falling at the feet of Christ, as described in Rev. i, 17, is a pendant to the angel on the other side with the book sealed with seven seals. In the corners of the vault are distributed the seven Churches of Asia.[1] The other vault of this aisle is devoted to episodes from the Passion, arranged with some disregard of the strict symmetry that is ordinarily cultivated in the compositions of the Panteón. As we might expect from the existence of the story of the Passion on one of the vaults, the wall at the east end of the left aisle is assigned to a fresco of the Crucifixion (Fig. 39), the chief interest of which is that it contains at the bottom a portrait of a king labelled *Fredenando* (Ferdinand) *Rex*, which, as we shall see, has a bearing upon the moot point of the date of the paintings. The curious thing is that we cannot be certain to which of two figures the inscription applies. There are four personages without haloes at the foot of the cross: at the left are a large kneeling man (whose head has been erased) beside the mound on which the cross is erected and behind him, disproportionately small, another man so badly injured by time that it is hard to tell whether he is seated on a throne or simply holds a shield; at the right a kneeling lady is the pendant to the man on the other side of the mound, and the smaller masculine personage is balanced by another woman, holding a loaf of bread (or perhaps merely a plate) and an amphora, reminiscences, according to Pérez Llamazares, of the custom of the laity providing the bread and wine for the mass, which is a *re*presentation of the sacrifice of Calvary. The inscription lies just between the two men; but since it occupies a space in which the smaller figure is set and which is divided from the space of the larger figure by lines, it would seem to refer to the former and has been sometimes so interpreted. But if the smaller figure is the king, who could be the person so much more important than royalty as to have the forepost of honor and to be distinguished by greater size? The more natural explanation would be that the larger forms are the sovereign and his queen and the smaller their retainers, and that the label, despite the division, is intended to identify the man who kneels at the cross. It is strange, however, that, while the master kneels, the vassal should be seated or enthroned, if such be really his position; perhaps what seems a part of the throne is really a shield. The interpretation as a shield receives

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[1] Very much the same aggregation of Apocalyptic themes is comprised in the frescoes on the vault of the chancel in the church of St. Mary at Kempley, England, which

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have been generally ascribed to the twelfth century: cf. J. Charles Wall, *Mediaeval Wall Paintings*, pp. 44 ff., and T. Borenius and E. W. Tristram, *English Mediaeval Painting*, New York, 1929, p. 4.

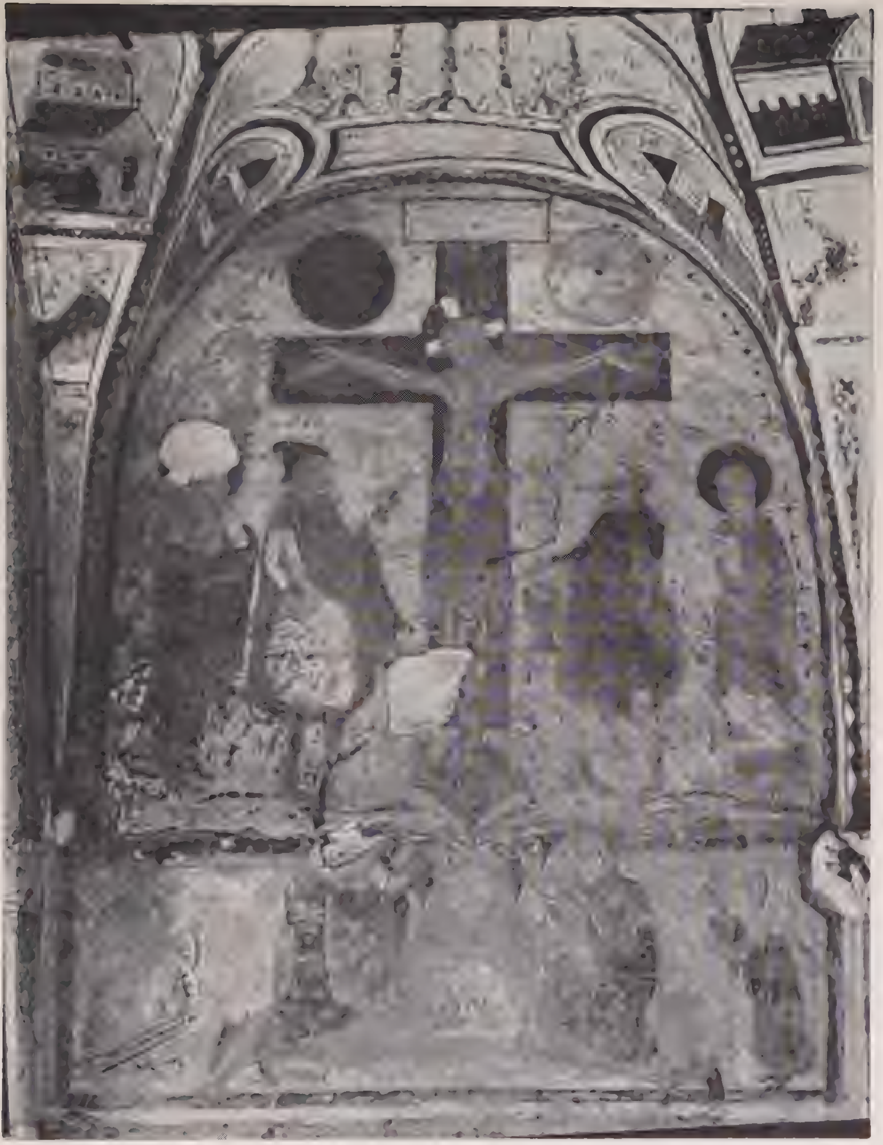

FIG. 39. CRUCIFIXION, PANTEÓN DE LOS REYES, S. ISIDORO, LEON

(Photo. Winocio)

confirmation from the fact that in the manuscript of the early twelfth century, the *Libro gótico* in the cathedral of Oviedo (which reveals also other analogies to the Leon frescoes), a kneeling king and queen are thus represented as donors, the former accompanied by a retainer bearing his armor, the latter by a lady with a chalice and paten.[1]

By the introduction of much pastoral *genre* the Annunciation to the Shepherds is made to occupy the whole eastern vault of the right aisle, and the multiplied details of the Massacre of the Innocents are spread out over the whole western vault. The arrangement of these details observes the customary symmetry, with Herod flanked by two executioners at one side of the vault balanced by four formally disposed episodes of slaughter on the other side. The vaults of the right aisle were adorned with scenes connected with the Infancy of Christ, because the east wall in front of the aisle once displayed the Nativity, all but the upper edge of which was destroyed by the construction of the door that now serves as entrance to the Panteón; and the tympana of the adjoining two great blind arches on the south wall are also decorated with vestiges of the story of the Saviour's Birth. The Annunciation and Visitation of the easternmost of the two tympana are still clearly visible. At either side of these two central scenes is a seated figure. The one at the left is accompanied by an almost effaced inscription in which it is possible to see the letters AN . . . A; and some of those who would identify the king in the Crucifixion as Ferdinand I like to think that this was originally filled out so as to read Sancha, the monarch's wife, who would then be also the queen in the Crucifixion.[2] Certain it is that the letters could not be parts of the names of any of the three successive queens of the other claimant for recognition as the sovereign in the Crucifixion, Ferdinand II, whose consorts were two Urracas and a Teresa. But since the lady of the inscription is not necessarily a queen but might be a princess or any other prominent woman of the epoch, the question of her name does not assist in the identification of the Ferdinand or in dating the frescoes. Professor Porter tells me that he believes the letters to be the remains of the word *ancilla*, maid-servant.

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[1] Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture* (English edition), II, 51.

[2] See below, however, p. 184.

Gómez-Moreno identifies the personage with Anna, the mother of the Virgin, and he surmises that the figure on the other side is Joachim; but in such case the absence of haloes would be extraordinary, the form at the right seems rather a woman than a man, and framing of the Annunciation and Visitation with the Virgin's parents would be a strange piece of iconography. Under the tympanum is a largely obliterated frieze of horsemen who are probably the Magi. In the upper part of the next tympanum the Flight into Egypt is still recognizable. Beneath, in the space corresponding to the frieze of the Magi, another smaller tympanum is formed at the left, containing blurred patches of what may have been the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and on the same level, at the right, the space is painted to give the illusion of an arch, in which are the vestiges of another, now undecipherable sacred scene.

Three of the soffits of the arches of the vaulting are decorated with figures and three with pure design. On the arch between the two vaults of the Pantocrator is the frequent Romanesque theme of the labors and symbols of the twelve months. At the centre of the arch between the Apocalyptic Pantocrator and the scenes from the Passion, in the left aisle, is a medallion of the dove of the Holy Spirit upheld by the archangels Gabriel and Raphael, and at the bottom of the arch, on either side, are St. George's fight with the dragon and an enigmatical figure of an unhaloed man that Gómez-Moreno puts down as a saint writing. Pérez Llamazares, on the other hand, believes that the objects in this representation are a chalice and a pipe, and he understands the scene as a cleric preparing to communicate the people in the species of wine by one of the primitive modes for the administration of the chalice. Even if the correctness of this Eucharistic interpretation could be demonstrated, it would have no bearing upon the dispute as to whether the frescoes should be dated in the eleventh or twelfth century, for the chalice was not withheld from the laity with any universality until the thirteenth century and it is not known just when the practice ceased at Leon. The arch in the central aisle between the Pantocrator and the Last Supper exhibits at the top a medallion of the Hand of God; underneath, as pendants one to the other, Enoch and Elijah; and still farther below, St. Gregory the Great writing and St. Martin rebuffing Satan.

The paintings of the Panteón must have been executed before the thirteenth century had progresssed very far, because they are mentioned by the ecclesiastical author, Lucas de Túy, who flourished in the early part of that century. The writer of the present pages is in agreement with the majority of critics that the style is so advanced that they cannot be dated earlier than towards the end of the Romanesque period. If the monarch depicted in the Crucifixion is Ferdinand II, the date would have to fall within his reign (from 1157 to 1188), the period in which Gómez-Moreno places the frescoes. Professor Porter and Dr. Kuhn kindly inform me that, in a place on the right side of the fresco corresponding to the *Fredenando Rex* on the left, they have been able to read the letters CA.[1] Since the C and A adjoin each other, they certainly could not be a part of the name of Sancha, the spouse of Ferdinand I. They may be the conclusion of the name Urraca, and the foremost woman would then be one of the two wives of Ferdinand II who were so called, although it must be remembered that Ferdinand I had a daughter named Urraca. If it is Ferdinand II's first wife, Urraca of Portugal, it would date the frescoes very definitely between the time of his marriage to her in 1164 and the time in which the marriage was annulled in 1175; if it be his third wife, Urraca López, the date would lie between this marriage in 1181 and the king's death in 1188. The *Fredenando* on the other side would doubtless suggest that the two balancing letters belong to the name of a queen of his; and since CA cannot be sections of the name Sancha, the wife of Ferdinand I, or of Teresa, the second wife of Ferdinand II, the natural deduction would be that they are all that is left of the word Urraca and that therefore the sovereign depicted is Ferdinand II. Inasmuch as it has been seen that the lady on the south wall can by no means be certainly recognized as Ferdinand I's wife, this factor does not affect the question of which king it is. Nevertheless, there are so many other proper and common nouns of which CA might be components that I should hesitate to make the identification with absolute surety or to use this possibility as a solid foundation for the chronology of the paintings. There is no stylistic objection to assigning the work to the reign of Ferdinand II.

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[1] Cf. Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture* (English edition), II, 51.

The conventionalization of the lines of Christ's abdomen in the Crucifixion into scrolls and the schematization of the lines of His knees, in both instances similar to the stylization of the drapery in certain Catalan antependia, are scarcely conceivable in the Romanesque art of Spain before the second half of the twelfth century. In any case Lampérez is right in giving as an approximate date the last third of the twelfth century. No real reason exists for extending the chronological leeway to include the early thirteenth century. Since Ferdinand II had no special connection with the building of S. Isidoro or with the church in any way, there was no occasion for depicting him in the frescoes other than that they may have been painted in his reign and perhaps at his order. Ferdinand I, who ruled Leon from 1037 to 1065, had a more proper claim to representation because he was the sovereign who in 1063 had inaugurated the new, main church and the narthex or Panteón, to take the place of an older edifice that dated back at least to Alfonso V (999–1027). We have just seen that the letters CA attached to the accompanying lady do not indubitably identify the enthroned king in the Crucifixion as Ferdinand II, and the possibility that he is Ferdinand I has been taken as evidence by the champions of a dating in the eleventh century;[1] but nothing would be more likely than that frescoes of the twelfth century would have depicted the monarch who a century before had been responsible for the erection of the building and who was surrounded by the odor of sanctity because of his pious works. The lady opposite would then be some other person than his queen, perhaps his daughter Urraca. So, at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, the German emperor Henry II, who had founded the cathedral of Bamberg in the first years of the eleventh century, is sculptured with his queen Kunigunde in the tympanum of the portal in the northeast tower of that church; and the same phenomenon appears to have occurred in the introduction of Sancho Ramírez of Aragon (1063-1094) into the Gothic frescoes of Sos. It has been indicated above that the question of the laity's participation in the cup of the Eucharist does not enter into the dispute in regard to whether the frescoes of the Panteón should be placed in the eleventh or twelfth century. The frescoes must be anterior to the present door of entrance, which cut away the representation of the Nativity, but the contention that this door was made at the time of the continuation of the building of the church under Ferdinand I's daughter, Urraca, cannot be proved, so that it is impossible to demonstrate that the Nativity was executed prior to her death in 1101. It is more likely that the painting of the angels with the medallion of the Lamb in the Panteón should have been copied from the same theme in the sculptured tympanum than *vice versa;* but this possibility is of little chronological aid, for the connoisseurs cannot decide among themselves whether the carvings should be assigned to the eleventh or early twelfth century.

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[1] Pérez Llamazares (*Iconografía de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*, 54 ff.) believes that Ferdinand I and his consort also appear on one of the capitals of the main church. Since the capital was probably executed in the eleventh century, these figures would naturally be Ferdinand and his wife or Ferdinand's successor, Alfonso VI, and his queen, if they really represent Spanish sovereigns. But the question has really no significance for the identification of the royal personages in the frescoes of the twelfth century.

The workmanship is everywhere finer, livelier, and more expressive than in Catalonia, constituting an exception to the strictures that have been made above upon the rusticity of Spanish Romanesque frescoes and reaching its climax in the combination of august solemnity with delicacy of execution and exquisitely calculated loveliness of design in the vault of the Pantocrator in the central aisle. The technical superiority is perhaps to be ascribed to the fact that a greater artist or greater artists were summoned to paint in this more important centre, and it is possible that, if our other examples of Spanish Romanesque were preserved in the larger ecclesiastical edifices rather than in small parish churches, we should be able to change our opinion as to the general rudeness of the Spanish style. In the polychrome vaults at Leon, countenances, extremities, and particularly draperies are drawn with delightful nicety. To choose just one example of impressive formality of composition, in the Majestas of the central aisle a splendid sweep of curving drapery on Christ's right arm is balanced by a counter fall on His left arm. Within the limits of the regularity of composition that is almost everywhere sought in the Panteón, the Last Supper is marked by an unusual western vivacity and naturalism in the activities of the conversing

Apostles. Some very slight use of modelling in chiaroscuro is to be noted in the paintings, in addition to the line drawing upon flat color. A strong French influence has been claimed for the frescoes, but it is hard to see wherein it especially lies. Although the normal striped setting of Spanish mural painting here gives place to a background of uniform creamy white, future investigation will doubtless discover much in these frescoes that is due to familiarity with Spanish miniatures. The anthropomorphic character of the Evangelistic signs, for instance, combining the heads of the symbols with the forms of angels as on the triumphal arch of Sta. María de Tahull and at Maderuelo, is a commonplace of the Beatus manuscripts. But there yet remains a certain something that is explained by neither France nor the illuminations. Mayer has perhaps hit upon it when he speaks of reminiscences of "late Roman, Early Christian" art. The edifices that stand for the Churches of Asia and the painted architectural frames of the Last Supper and of the episodes in the Massacre of the Innocents, some of the figures and their draperies, such as the Judas of the Last Supper or the St. John beside the Apocalyptic Christ, and the Alexandrian pastoral *genre* of the Annunciation to the Shepherds do recall vaguely the Christian mosaics of Rome, which would have been known in Spain through pilgrimages to the Eternal City. Not a little also is the result of direct Byzantine indebtedness, as, for instance, the multiplication and perspicuity of the folds of the garments worn by the angelic symbols of the Evangelists. In other words, we have here the habitual conglomeration of elements that went to make up the style of the epoch, though fused into a homogeneous and distinctive thing that we may call Romanesque.

A further fresco in the Panteón must be taken into account. On the south wall in the space corresponding to the westernmost vaults of the Panteón (themselves unpainted) there remain some tatters of another Crucifixion so fragmentary that a categorical judgment upon the style and date is hazardous. Still visible are the arms of the cross, the Virgin at its foot, busts of figures symbolizing the sun and moon and holding veils, and a rich, framing, curving border consisting of foliate spirals containing the forms of birds and monsters. The accompanying

Latin inscription neither I nor, as far as I know, any others have been able to read: the words *pro vobis* are distinguishable, and the writing looks as if it might have concluded with the date. My ultimate impression, after much vacillation, is that the fresco is rather sophisticated work of the very late Romanesque period, the moment to which Gómez-Moreno assigns it, and that therefore it was executed subsequently to the principal Romanesque cycle in the Panteón. The drapery of the Virgin, however, could with much reason be employed to support a theory that the style is Gothic of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The character of the ornamental border, though unlike any of its fellows in the rest of the Panteón, is Romanesque, but, again, it might represent a survival in the Gothic epoch.

S. Isidoro contains, in the Capilla de los Quiñones, once perhaps the chapter-house, the slight relics of another cycle of Romanesque frescoes that have oddly received little notice or have been cavalierly passed by as Gothic. The architecture of the chapel is Romanesque, and the paintings, though they embody the last gasp of the style, are nevertheless to be grouped among the Romanesque monuments, and, with their technique of line upon flat color, betray scarcely any intimations of the oncoming Gothic except for their greater faithfulness to the superficial appearance of nature. Although they are undeniably later than the frescoes of the Panteón[1] (with the possible exception of the Crucifixion on the south wall) and could not have been produced before the thirteenth century was well advanced, the craftsmanship is decidedly inferior to that exhibited in the Panteón and is rather countrified. There remains only the Last Judgment on the west wall and on the immediately adjoining arch of the vaulting. In the centre of the wall was probably the figure of Our Lord as judge, now effaced. In the space at His right are still visible those whom He has accepted and at His left those whom He has rejected. The polychromy of the soffit of the arch is fairly intact. The most striking section is the cauldron of hell on the lower part of the side over the damned on the wall; the upper part of this side is completed by a scene of devils transporting the accursed to perdition. The upper part of the soffit of the arch on the side over the blessed on the wall depicts St. Peter at the (Mozarabic!) entrance to the mansion of heaven, above which, at the centre of the arch, appears an angel with a cross; the lower part displays the perplexing scene of two bishops with one man kneeling and another bowing before them. Pérez Llamazares may be right in discerning here the preparation of the soul for heaven by the sacrament of penance, although it is more difficult to follow him in finding also a reference to the sacrament of baptism. In the frescoes of the Trecento in the Spanish Chapel of S. Maria Novella at Florence, a Dominican confesses a penitent in the same way at the gate of Paradise. Gómez-Moreno guesses that the two bishops may be Sts. Isidore and Augustine, but they have no haloes. Despite the advanced date, the master has not learned to make the expressions of grief and terror on the faces of the damned anything more than caricatures.

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[1] Pérez Llamazares dates the frescoes of the Panteón in the eleventh century and those of the Capilla de los Quiñones in the second half of the twelfth. Gómez-Moreno places the Quiñones paintings, together with the Gothic frescoes of St. Catherine in the Panteón, at the end of the thirteenth century.

A more baffling chronological problem than that of the Panteón is presented by the distinguished frescoes recently uncovered[1] in what was the Sala Capitular in the ruined monastery, now a private estate, of S. Pedro de Arlanza, near Hortigüela, south of Burgos. The room itself was originally Romanesque, and is assigned by Lampérez to the beginning of the thirteenth century, chiefly on the evidence, however, of the paintings, whereas the church was commenced or completed[2] as early as 1081; but the chamber was remodelled, together with much of the rest of the edifice, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Since the roof of the chamber has collapsed, the frescoes are pitilessly exposed to the severity of the weather of northern Spain and are in imminent danger of total destruction. A section, for instance, crumbled away in the winter of

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[1] A few pieces of the polychromy had long been known, peering forth here and there in the midst of the expanse of whitewash.

[2] Lampérez (*Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la Edad Media*, I, 479) says *commenced*, on the evidence of a now lost inscription recorded by Amador de los Ríos (volume on *Burgos* in *España, sus monumentos y artes*, 907); Huidobro (*El monasterio de S. Pedro de Arlanza, Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Burgos*, I, 201) follows an unpublished chronicle of Arlanza written by Juan de Pereda in 1563 in stating it to have been *completed* at that date.

1925–1926. With an analogy to S. Juan de Bohí that has already been noted, the top of the room is adorned by the relics of a frieze of various large, magnificently conceived, and beautifully executed monsters, marked by the usual grotesque imagination of the Romanesque epoch in the creation of such prodigious figments of the fancy. Two of the forms are sadly obliterated but appear to be similar to the bird-like or winged animals to be seen in the Romanesque carvings of the near-lying cloister of Sto. Domingo de Silos. Except that his tail ends in stylized foliage, the superb lion (Fig. 40) is almost duplicated in several of the beasts of a Beatus manuscript of the thirteenth century in the Morgan Library.[1] The master probably did not have this very manuscript in mind, but the conclusion can scarcely be avoided that he must have been using material from a similar manuscript or manuscripts. In front of the lion is painted a characteristic stylized Romanesque plant, and behind him a bit of a Romanesque arcade, with what look like late Romanesque capitals, the whole having an effect that may be paralleled in pieces of architecture in the Morgan Beatus. The small arcade is quite out of scale with the large lion; and, according to the same disregard of proportion and the same rather scattered and haphazard composition of the frieze, the space behind one of the ornithological monsters is occupied by a miniature Romanesque castle, which, however, may have some heraldic significance. There is also a great dragon, at whose rear the space is once more filled by vegetation. The background of this large frieze, in which the monsters are used as the principal *motifs*, is banded. The spandrels of the window arches likewise exhibit the shapes of fanciful animals. Beneath the large frieze runs a narrower border consisting of: confronted, jaunty fish; winged prodigies again like those of Silos; harpies or sirens; an illustration of a fable in which two real animals are dancing to the lyre-playing of another; and an undecipherable scene in which two human beings are the actors. A niche in the lower part of the wall displays the Pantocrator in a mandorla and in the spaces beside His head, as in the Morgan Beatus, the sun and moon, one of the few examples in Spanish Romanesque frescoes or panels of the introduction of these symbols into the iconography of the glorified Saviour. In distinction from the Morgan manuscript, where they appear simply as in nature, the sun contains a countenance, and the head of a woman rises between the horns of the moon. The personification of the moon as a woman, however, is a commonplace of mediaeval iconography, and there are also other instances, besides that of the Beatus manuscript, of the appearance of the sun and moon with the Pantocrator, as well as in the Crucifixion, Ascension, and even the Baptism and Assumption. Their accompaniment of the Saviour in Cappadocian apses has already been noted. At Arlanza the face of Our Lord, having been obliterated, was filled in, at some period or other, with a subsequent drawing, and it is probable that the countenance in the sun and the woman in the moon are retouched. The most memorable things in the painting of this niche are the masterfully drawn heads and forequarters of the two beasts that constitute the ends of the Pantocrator's throne. The Evangelistic signs are relegated to the soffit of the arch that frames the niche. The vertical surface

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[1] Dr. Kuhn first suggested to me analogies in the Morgan Beatus, and he mentions these again in his article, *Notes on Some Spanish Frescoes* in *Art Studies*, VI (1928).

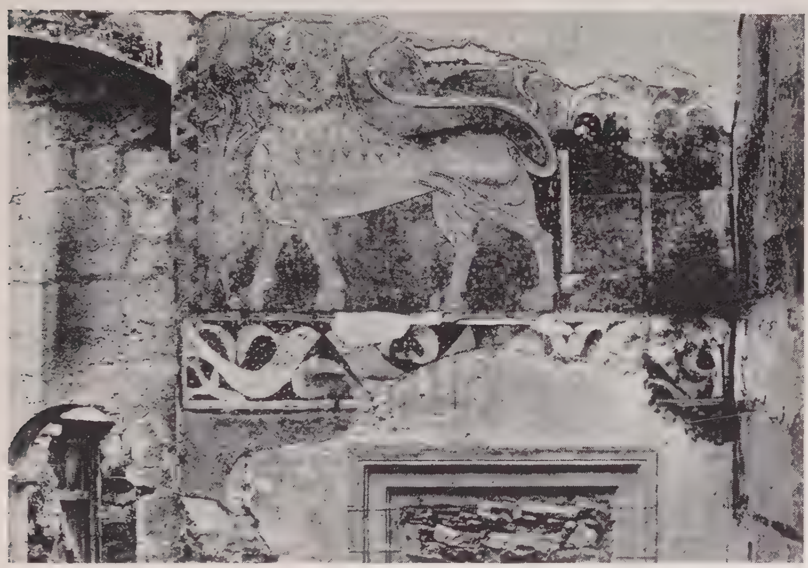

FIG. 40. SECTION OF FRESCOES IN CHAPTER-HOUSE, S. PEDRO DE ARLANZA

(*Photo. Porter*)

of this arch is embellished with a border of *motifs* from the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and the soffit of the outer archivolt with the stars that are used in other sections of the ornamentation, together with flowers and further decorative elements, to relieve the vacancy of the background. The haloes of the symbols of the Evangelists and of the woman in the moon are anomalously cruciform. To the analogy of a repertoire of beasts and monsters in S. Juan de Bohí may be added the French example of the painted Romanesque frieze (*c.* 1150) in the parish church at Ebreuil (Allier), which exhibits two lions, birds, a serpent, and hunting-scenes like the episode of *genre* in which two human beings appear at Arlanza.

Nothing, then, could be more thoroughly Romanesque than the themes of this Spanish cycle, whether one remembers the monsters, the painted bits of Romanesque buildings, the Pantocrator, or the parallelisms to the Beatus manuscripts. The borders of pure design, where they remain, also consist of Romanesque *motifs*, and the general technical method is everywhere that usually encountered in the twelfth century. There would, therefore, be naught to give one pause in attributing the frescoes to the Romanesque period, were it not for the extreme sophistication of the drawing of the animals and monsters and for the correctness which characterizes the forms in the scenes of the fable and of the two men and which would seem to be in advance of Romanesque knowledge. As one looks at the frescoes, it is impossible quite to shake off the feeling that they might conceivably be a later, archaistic imitation of the Romanesque style, executed in the fourteenth or even the fifteenth century. The smaller frieze, in particular, suggests here and there the manner and skill of late Gothic. Yet there appear to be no traces in this room of the late Gothic architectural reconstruction of other parts of the monastery that took place at the end of the fifteenth century (although, as has been indicated, this room was remodelled in the seventeenth or eighteenth century), so that there would have been no special occasion for polychrome decoration at this time. The segmental arches of some of the openings are shown to be contemporary with the frescoes by the fact that their sides and tops are decorated with a continuation of the painting of the large frieze, as is also the case with those of the richly sculptured round arch in the room; and there is no reason for assigning segmental arches of this type to the fifteenth century, since they occur, for instance, at the end of the twelfth century in the lower story of the Romanesque edifice of the Pahería or Casa Consistorial at Lérida. Except for the proficient technique in the beasts of the throne, the niche of the Pantocrator betrays nothing that anyone would naturally attribute to a later date than the Romanesque period, and it is hardly possible to believe that these beasts were executed at a different moment from the rest of the painting of the niche. Since the beasts of the frieze are no finer than those of the throne, it would seem to follow that the whole room was painted in the Romanesque period. S. Pedro de Arlanza would thus present us with an extreme manifestation of a common Romanesque phenomenon according to which the shapes of animals and monsters and decorative details tend to be better rendered than human forms or narrative. The two human forms in the smaller frieze are after all only decorative details, which probably would have appeared much less correct if they had been magnified to larger size, and neither they nor any other sections of the frescoes have any qualities that are absolutely discordant with a date in the first half of the thirteenth century, the period to which I have finally concluded that the cycle should be assigned. The perfection of craftsmanship may be paralleled, if not in Romanesque painting, at least in Romanesque sculpture even of the late twelfth century, and may be, furthermore, adequately explained either by the presence of an unusually gifted technician or by the fact that the frescoes, like those of Esterri de Aneu, represent the chronological culmination of a long tradition.

The learned archaeologist of Burgos, Don Luciano Huidobro, has obtained from an unpublished chronicle of Arlanza written in 1563 by a Juan de Pereda the information that a painter named Gudesteo at the order of Frater Xemeno, an architect, decorated the walls of the church with scenes of the Passion, the Sala Capitular with episodes from the Bible, and the corridors with purely decorative *motifs*, and the same scholar has kindly informed me personally that, when he discovered the frescoes in the Sala Capitular, the signature of Gudesteo was still visible on the lower part of the arch containing the enthroned Pantocrator, although it has now almost entirely disappeared. Inasmuch as Xemeno built the Torre del Tesoro on the north side of the church in 1138, the natural conclusion would be that Gudesteo was active at about the same time, but on stylistic grounds I find it impossible to believe that any of the extant painting in the Sala Capitular was executed at so early a date as the middle of the twelfth century or even fifty years after 1138 when it is just conceivable that he might have been still living and carrying out the old commission. It is another of many instances in artistic criticism, such as the case for the authenticity of Leonardo's Virgin of the Rocks in the Louvre as against the London example, where the evidence of the eye must outweigh documentary considerations. I am therefore forced into the position of holding that the statement in the chronicle and the signature refer to frescoes in the Sala Capitular now lost and that the existing mural paintings are a subsequent accretion of the thirteenth century. These existing paintings are not the Biblical themes that the chronicle mentions but are like the decorative *motifs* with which Gudesteo is said to have adorned passage-ways. Don Luciano writes me, however, that the vestiges of a Crucifixion could once be seen in the Sala Capitular, and one may guess these to have been a relic of Gudesteo's cycle.

One or two other very significant fragments, however small, have already come to light in Old Castile. On the left wall of the nave of the ruined convent-church of S. Miguel at Tubilla del Agua (north of Burgos on the road to Santander) is an exceptionably well preserved fresco of two angels, back to back, combating and crushing beneath their feet a dragon-formed devil or devils, the whole enclosed in a painted, upright, rectangular, red frame (Fig. 41), so that it is obvious that the scene was a composition by itself and not a part of a larger *ensemble* (although further frescoes are still probably concealed beneath the whitewash). Like the majority of the Romanesque frescoes in western Spain, the technical quality is decidedly superior to the Catalan norm. The lower draperies of both angels display the "flying fold" of Languedoc. Their countenances bear some resemblance to those of Pedret but, in view of the general homogeneity of Romanesque art, not enough to establish anything like a connection between the two monuments. In any case, the analogy would be of little aid in determining the date of the Tubilla fresco, for the chronology of the Pedret paintings is itself a moot point. Nor have I been able to obtain assistance in the matter of dating from the church fabric, for which I have not discovered any documentation. A cursory examination of the building and particularly of the sculpture on the tower would not exclude the possibility of construction in the eleventh

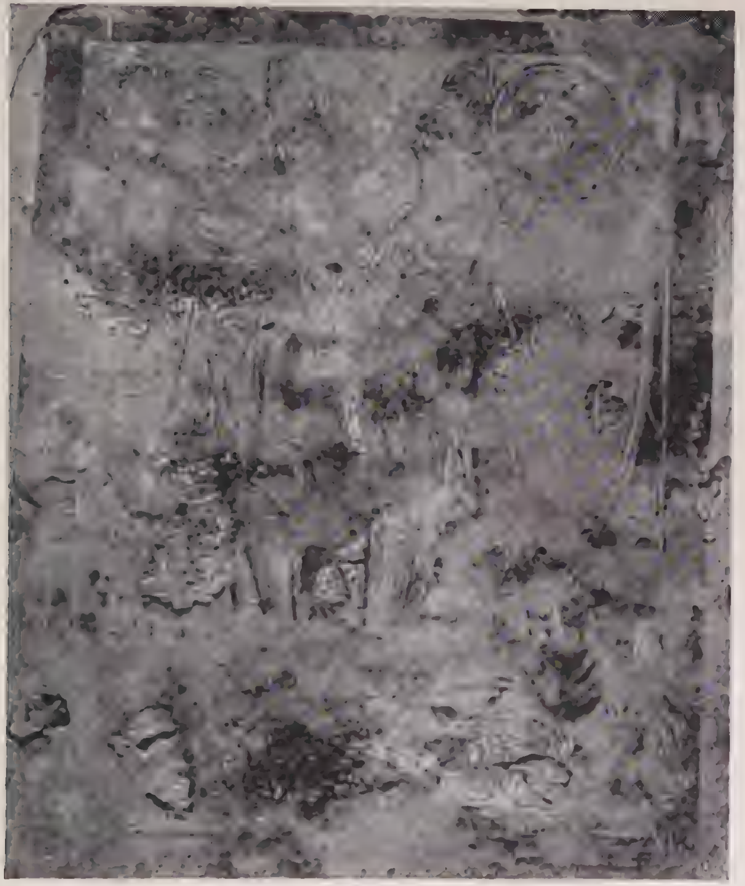

FIG. 41. FIGHTING ANGELS, S. MIGUEL, TUBILLA DEL AGUA
(Photo. Kuhn)

century. For an opinion that the fresco represents a high degree of artistic attainment as early as the end of this century or the beginning of the twelfth, I can claim nothing more authoritative than a merely personal conviction that arises from the study and comparison of many Romanesque paintings and carvings; Professor Cook, on the other hand, proposes a date as late as the thirteenth century.

A dusty and somewhat perilous climb amidst what little remains from the old mediaeval structure in the new church of the abbey of Sto. Domingo de Silos reveals on one of the ancient windows of the crossing the frescoed forms of the Pantocrator and two saints, apparently, though not certainly, the production of a late Romanesque artist.

The paucity and bad preservation of what has as yet been uncovered in the apse of the Ermita de S. Pelayo at Perazancas, just southeast of Cervera de Pisuerga, in the province of Palencia discountenance serious judgment in regard to style and date; and yet even these poor tatters possess a superior beauty. The pier on the right of the entrance to the apse exhibits the form of a tonsured saint, clad in a reddish brown chasuble (Fig. 42); and a head in the same style that peers forth amidst the expanse of whitewash in the apse itself seems to indicate that beneath the plaster lie further frescoes which it is to be hoped will soon be freed from their imprisonment. The architecture of the apse and of the portal of the Ermita might belong to either the eleventh or the twelfth century. The technique of the painting is Romanesque but of such sophistication that it would appear impossible that the execution could fall before the last years of the twelfth century or, more plausibly, the first half of the thirteenth. It is especially the linear conventionalization of the features of the visage that is Romanesque. The eyes look to be closed in pious contemplation, the whole figure has an effect that strangely approximates and anticipates the stern majesty of Piero della Francesca, and it resembles curiously the forms in modern attempts to recreate Romanesque art in theatrical scenery; but all these impressions were doubtless produced in part, not by the brush of the original craftsman, but by the blurring hand of time.[1]

The chief interest of the extensive polychrome decoration of the curiously built Mozarabic church of S. Baudelio de Berlanga (close to the village of Casillas de Berlanga not far from

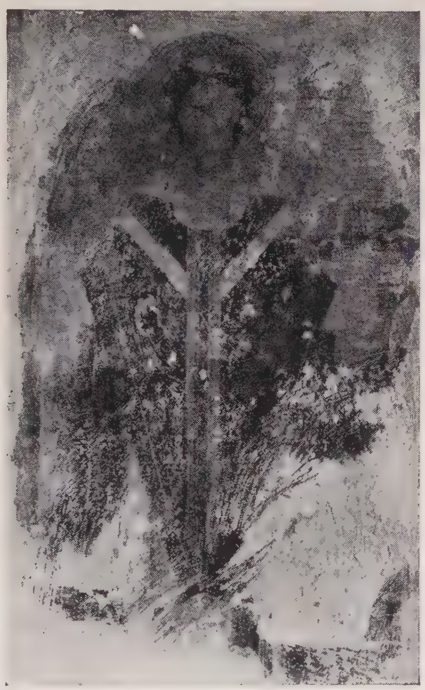

Fig. 42. FIGURE OF SAINT, S. PELAYO, PERAZANCAS

(*Photo. Kuhn*)

Burgo de Osma on the borders of Aragon) is that it provides us with the principal example of Moorish influence in the mural painting of the period; but scarcely less important is the series of purely Christian themes. The pictorial embellishment, in which there are signs of later retouching, is to be dated in the twelfth century, perhaps after 1150 rather than before. The lion's share and the best preserved parts of all this cycle have been transferred to canvas, removed from the church, and are now or were until recently in a dealer's hands in America, subjected to the ignominy of severing their age-old companionship and of being sold in separate lots. It is in the decoration of the structure that supports the tribune of the elevated *coro* and in the decoration of the lower zone of the main body of the church at the same level with this structure that the peculiar significance of the monument is concentrated, for here the ecclesiastical repertoire gives way to debonair episodes and figures from secular existence, virtually all of which are among the sections that were transported to the United States. It is very generally held that much of this profane matter was suggested by Mohammedan art, which the painter would have known through the mediating agency of the Moors. From the frescoing of the *coro* there remain: an expanse of pure design with doves or heraldic eagles in circles imitated from a tapestry; a camel; from the spaces at either side of the column at the centre of the *coro*, a rampant heraldic wolf, with a medallion of an animal above it, the whole again manifestly suggested by a fabric; a splendid standing figure of a Moorish warrior with round shield and lance, once more surmounted by two heraldic medallions of animals; an elephant carrying a howdah and, above, a continuation of the frieze of heraldic medallions; and a bear. Of the adornment of the lower zone on the walls of the body of the church, there have been preserved: a mounted man with a falcon; a hunter with a bow stalking a deer; and an extended scene of a mounted gentleman armed with a long, three-pronged spear (which makes a vigorous accent across the face of the fresco) and giving chase with the aid of hounds, among delightfully delineated trees, to hares which rush into a snare that has been set for them. Although in the zone of sacred narrative the stripes of the Beatus manuscripts are employed as backgrounds, with a splendid blue band at the top symbolizing the sky,[1] in the lower zone of the profane themes the backgrounds are of one color, white on the *coro* (except for the elephant, which has red) and red for the episodes of the hunt on the walls of the church. When the red setting is employed, there is a tendency to paint the forms, for the sake of contrasting relief, in white or at least in a light color that has now faded to a virtual white. Perhaps the master may have had the aesthetic sensibility to feel — for the Romanesque artist was not as naïve as it is the fashion to think him — that eastern *motifs* were suited to the adornment of a building which, executed in the Mozarabic style, combined Moorish and Christian elements of architecture. The luxuriance of the painted decorative details that frame alike sacred and secular themes is in itself witness to an oriental taste. The presence of a Mohammedan strain is discerned also in a Latin inscription referring to the Magdalene written from right to left above a ruined section of the frescoes of the apse. The ribs of the vaulting are for the most part decorated with conventionalized floral patterns, but on one of them the hunting strain is continued from the lower part of the church with the representation of dogs pursuing some animal.

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[1] The frescoes from Revilla de Santullán (near Aguilar de Campóo in the province of Palencia), now in the possession of Lady Limerick in Hall Place, Bexley, Kent (except for a few fragments still remaining in the church) and ascribed by Lampérez (*Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española*, I, 421) and by Juan Sanz (*Iconografía Mariana*) to the Romanesque period, are in reality late Gothic works of the second half of the fifteenth century and will therefore be treated in a subsequent volume.

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[1] Mr. C. H. Hawes (*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XXVI, 1928, p. 11) thinks that even the other bands may still have been understood as conventions for the parts of the setting: see above, pp. 60 ff.

The sacred themes include: between the ribs in the dimly seen vaults of the main body of the church, sadly damaged episodes from the life of the Virgin and the Child, of which only the Flight into Egypt is still clearly distinguishable; from the higher zone of the walls (above the secular subjects), a series of large representations of the life of Christ; of the once completely adorned apse, only the almost erased effigy of the Lamb upon the cross, upheld by angels and adored by two men, in the arched section of the end wall, and, beneath, the better preserved enthroned figures of Sts. Baudelius and (?) Augustine, framing the window, which itself is embellished with a fan-*motif* that covers not only the top, as in Sta. María de Mur, but also the sides, and encloses at its summit the dove of the Holy Spirit; from under the window a stylized form of some wading bird; on the arch of entrance to the apse, an angel supporting a medallion framed by the wavy lines that were a symbol for clouds; and in the little chapel opening out of the east side of the *coro*, in smaller scale and more hastily executed, the Virgin and Child between two of the Wise Men on the east wall, the third

Wise Man on the left side of the barrel vault guided by an angel and naïvely posed so that he may step over a window, on the right of the vault two angels of whom one crushes a dragon, and at the top of the vault the Hand of God. From this repertoire there were brought to America the St. Augustine, the bird, and the scenes from the life of Christ, consisting of the Temptation, the Marriage at Cana, the Cure of a Blind Man and the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, and the Resurrection (the last two having been recently purchased by the Boston Museum, Figs. 43 and 44). The grade of draughtsmanship is equal or superior to that which the average artist of Catalonia usually attained, and the style both of the religious and of the worldly themes is nearer to the general Catalan norm than to the more painstaking and consciously artistic manner of Leon. The Last Supper at Leon has a less formal and more animated composition than at Berlanga. It is interesting to observe, nevertheless, how the Spanish love of conventional design manifests itself in this subject at Berlanga in the arbitrary symmetry of the feet and garments under the table, in the rhythm of repeated gesture in the Apostles' arms, and even in the orderly arrangement of the folds of the table-cloth (as also in the Marriage at Cana) into a series of stiff bands and of the quaint fish in their dishes into an obvious line of large horizontal accents. The Catalan kinship is proved by such tokens as the fan-*motif* of the window, the character of the maeander of the decorative border that separates the sacred from the secular zone, and the adornment of the end wall of the chapel with the Adoration of the Magi. The types are somewhat more expressive and intense cousins of the personages of Catalan art, and their draperies have a like affiliation. The Christ, for instance, of the Healing of the Blind Man and of the Entry into Jerusalem irresistibly recalls Catalan precedents, and the bride of the Marriage at Cana is even a sister of the virgins of Pedret. In the scene of the Healing, the edge of Christ's garment billows forth in the "flying fold" that we so often meet in Catalonia. The three women bring their boxes of ointment to the Holy Sepulchre with the same posture as the Wise Men their gifts in the Catalan Epiphanies. The general scheme of color is much like that of Sta. María de Tahull. The exact similarities that Mr. Hawes[1] has pointed out in the fresco of the apse of Sta. María de Tahull, such as the forms of the painted columns, bases, capitals, and peculiar, superimposed squinches, are so striking as more than to suggest the hypothesis that the master of Berlanga had profitably studied this very creation of a Catalan predecessor. The effect of a richer chromatic harmony than we usually encounter in Spanish Romanesque cycles of frescoes is perhaps due only to the better preservation. In any case, the mural paintings of S. Baudelio de Berlanga probably give a more nearly correct idea than the majority of Spanish monuments of what one of these Romanesque churches looked like in its pristine freshness. Here and there we seem to catch glimpses of a popular and personal imaginative enlivening of traditional iconography. In the Marriage at Cana the episode of *genre* at the left, where two servants are carrying wine-skins and pouring their contents into a vessel, occupies as much space as the representation of Our Lord at the banquet. The mode of depicting the Raising of Lazarus also appears to be new. For the arrangement of the Resurrection of Christ in the three sections, each under an arch, of the angel on the tomb, the group of frightened soldiers, and the three holy women, there is at least a suggestion in the Beatus manuscripts, the influence of which, indeed, can be felt throughout the pictorial decoration of S. Baudelio de Berlanga.

Over one of the hares in the representation of the hunt, Garnelo has pointed out what was perhaps, if it be not a later addition or even a piece of chicanery, the signature of the master. The *me fecit* seems clear; the earlier part of the inscription — unfortunately the more significant part — has not yet been convincingly deciphered.

Cogent stylistic parallelisms argue for classifying in the same group and perhaps even as a later product of the same workshop the important cycle of frescoes in the Ermita de la Vera Cruz at the not too far distant Maderuelo on the other side of Burgo de Osma (in the province of Segovia close to Campo de San Pedro, northeast of Sepúlveda). The piece of building in

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[1] *Op. cit.*, 9–10.

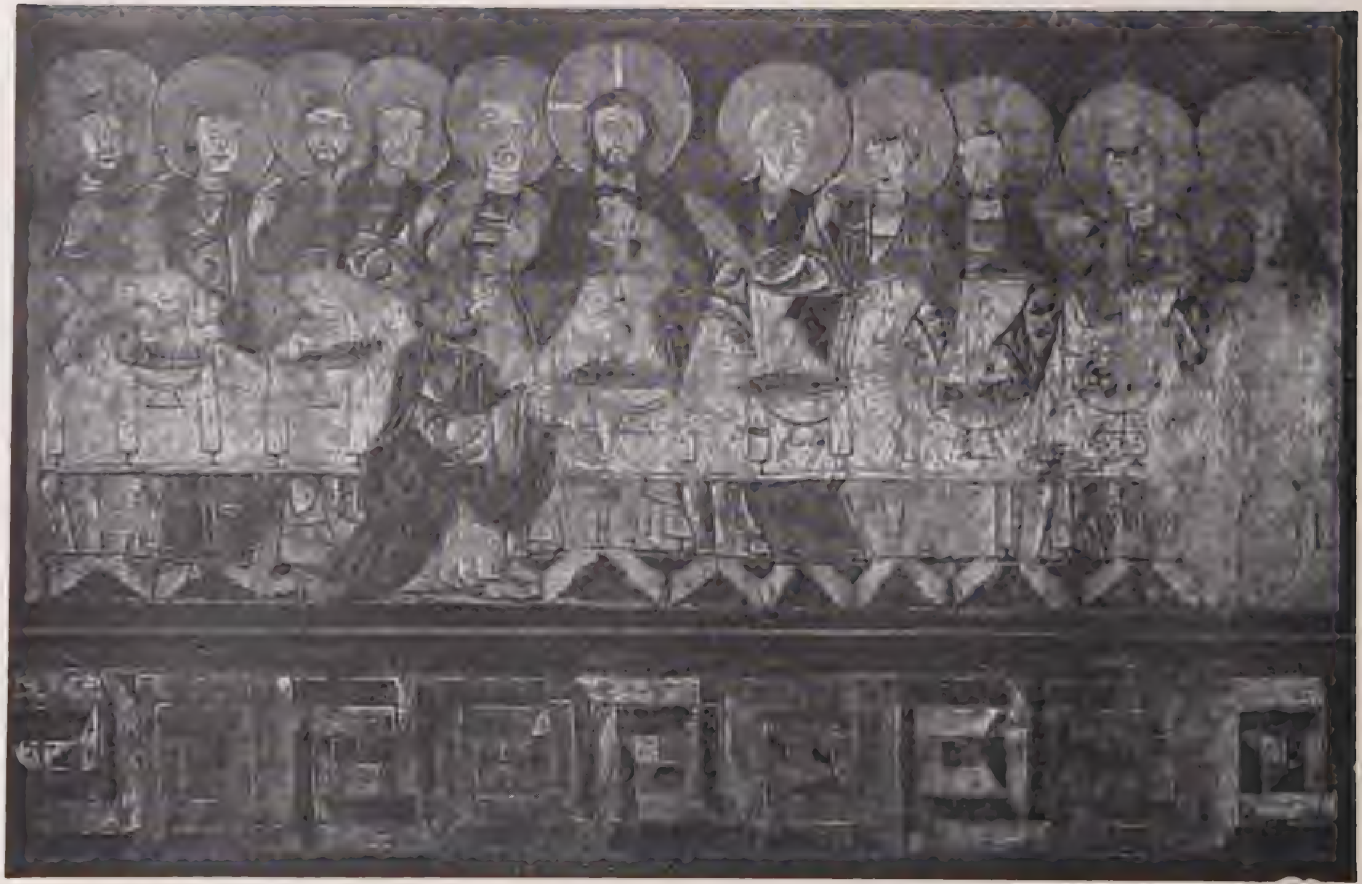

FIG. 43. LAST SUPPER, FROM S. BAUDELIO DE BERLANGA. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

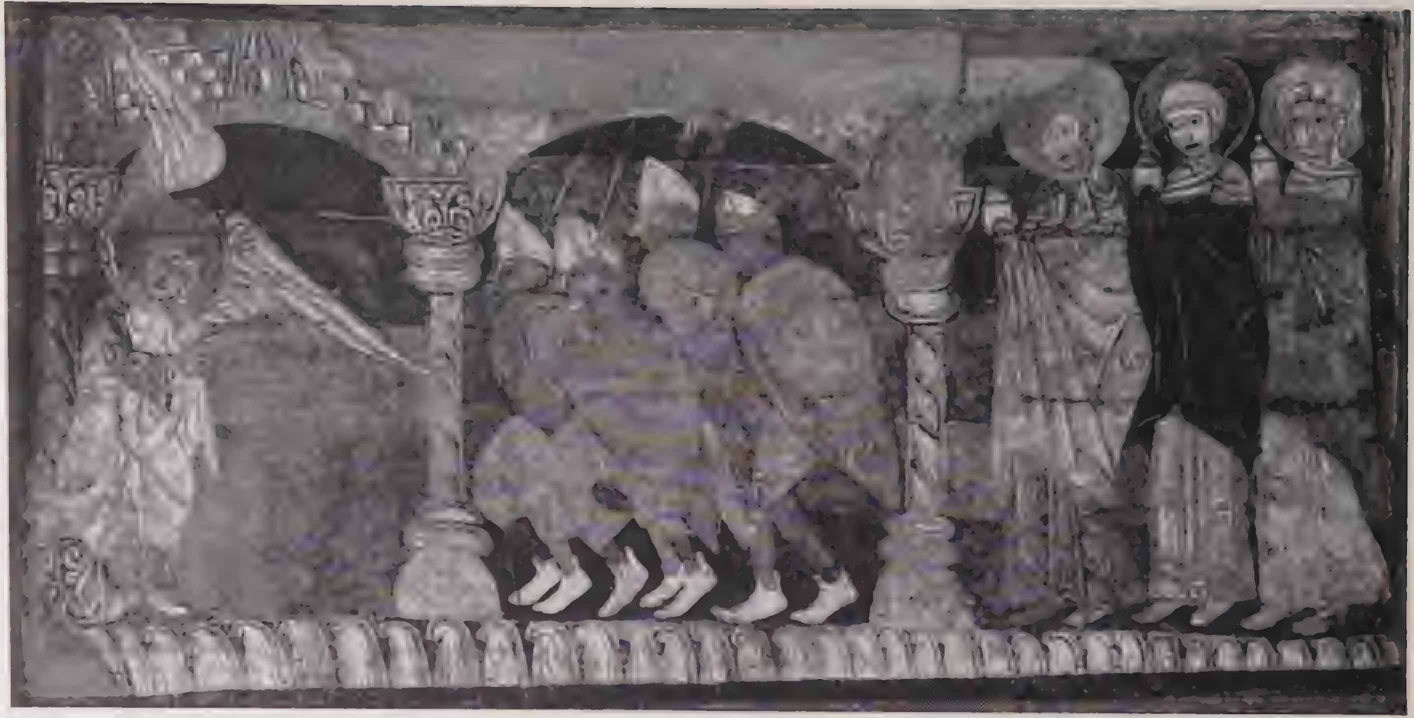

FIG. 24. RESURRECTION, FROM S. BAUDELIO DE BERLANGA. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

which the paintings exist is now a part of a farmhouse and may have been originally only the apse of a larger church or itself the whole of a small sacred edifice. The beautifully drawn and solemnly majestic Pantocrator (Fig. 45) is here seated in a spot corresponding to His Byzantine position in the dome, namely in the centre of the barrel vault. The border of the mandorla consists of four bands, which read, in color, from the inside outward, yellow, red, white, red, and it is bound on the exterior by the undulating line that is a convention for clouds. At each of its four corners is a supporting angel, and the rectangle thus created in the central section is itself edged with the wavy *motif*. On both sides of the Pantocrator a lower zone of polychrome decoration is formed, still on the curving surface of the vault. The iconography of each of these zones, consisting of a series of five standing figures, a saint and four angels, echoes symmetrically that of the other. On the north side, beginning at the west end, are a feminine saint, an eagle-headed angel symbolizing the Evangelist St. John, a seraph veiled in wings like the Catalan examples and with eyes in the lower wings, in the feet, and in the hands, both of which hold censers, an archangel garbed in dalmatic and holding a scroll (on which *Postulatio* or *Petitio*, if ever present, is no longer visible), and, finally, the ox-headed angel of St. Luke. The thematic material and arrangement are identical in the south zone, save that a masculine saint vested in a chasuble and displaying an unrecognizable attribute (Fig. 46) takes the place of the canonized woman, and the two Evangelistic symbols at the ends are those of St. Matthew and St. Mark, the former, of course, indicated, not by a creature with bestial head, but merely by an ordinary angel clasping a book. With the exception of this symbol of St. Matthew, the Evangelistic angels turn towards the side as if in converse with their companions, according to a tendency to abandon the baldly frontal position that we have noted in certain other such Romanesque assemblages. The sides of the chapel under the barrel vault are consigned to the seated Apostles, six at the north and six at the south. The remaining space in this zone at the north is occupied, in a compartment next to the east end of the building, by a blurred piece of narrative in which the heads of three persons under a roof(?) may be recognized.

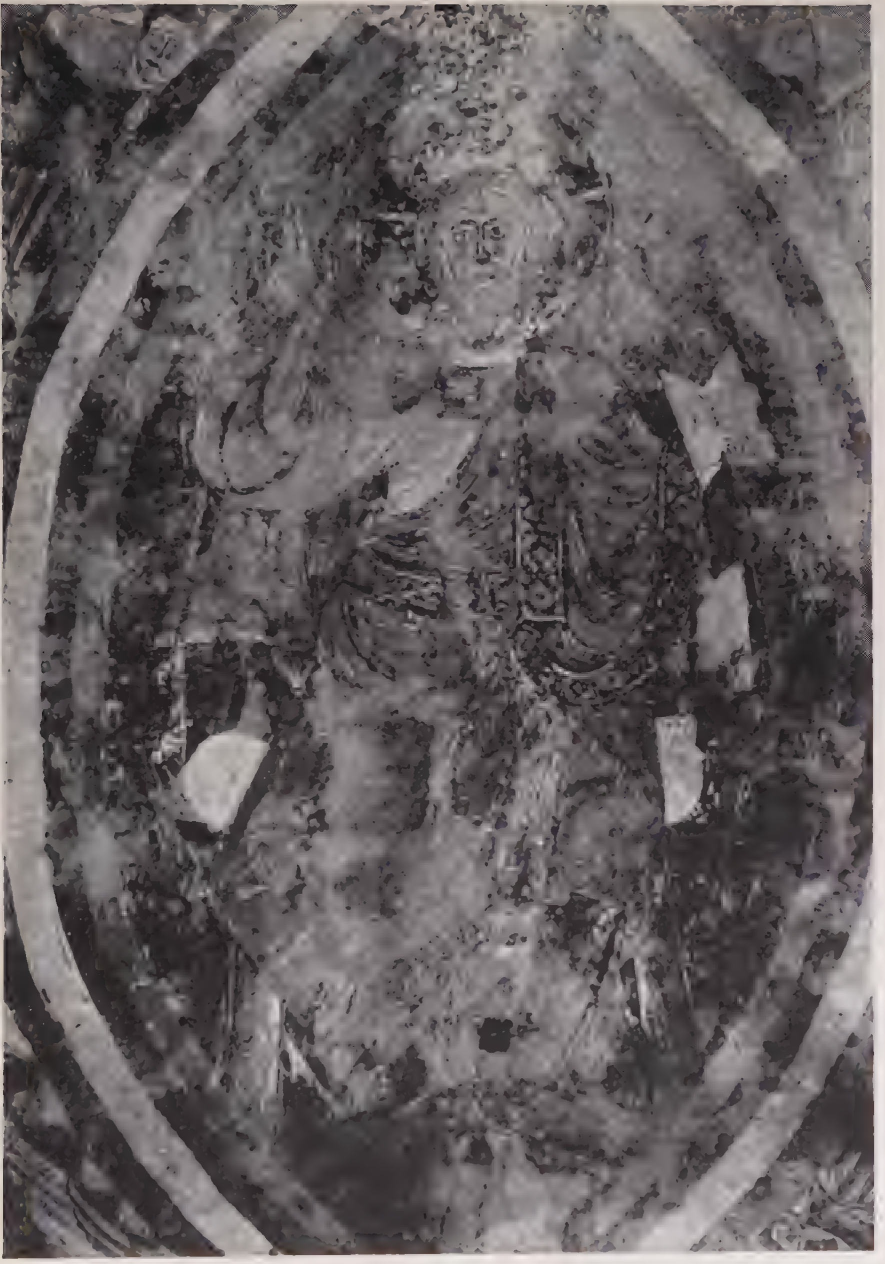

Fig. 45. PANTOCRATOR, ERMITA DE LA VERA CRUZ, MADERUELO

(Photo. Kuhn)

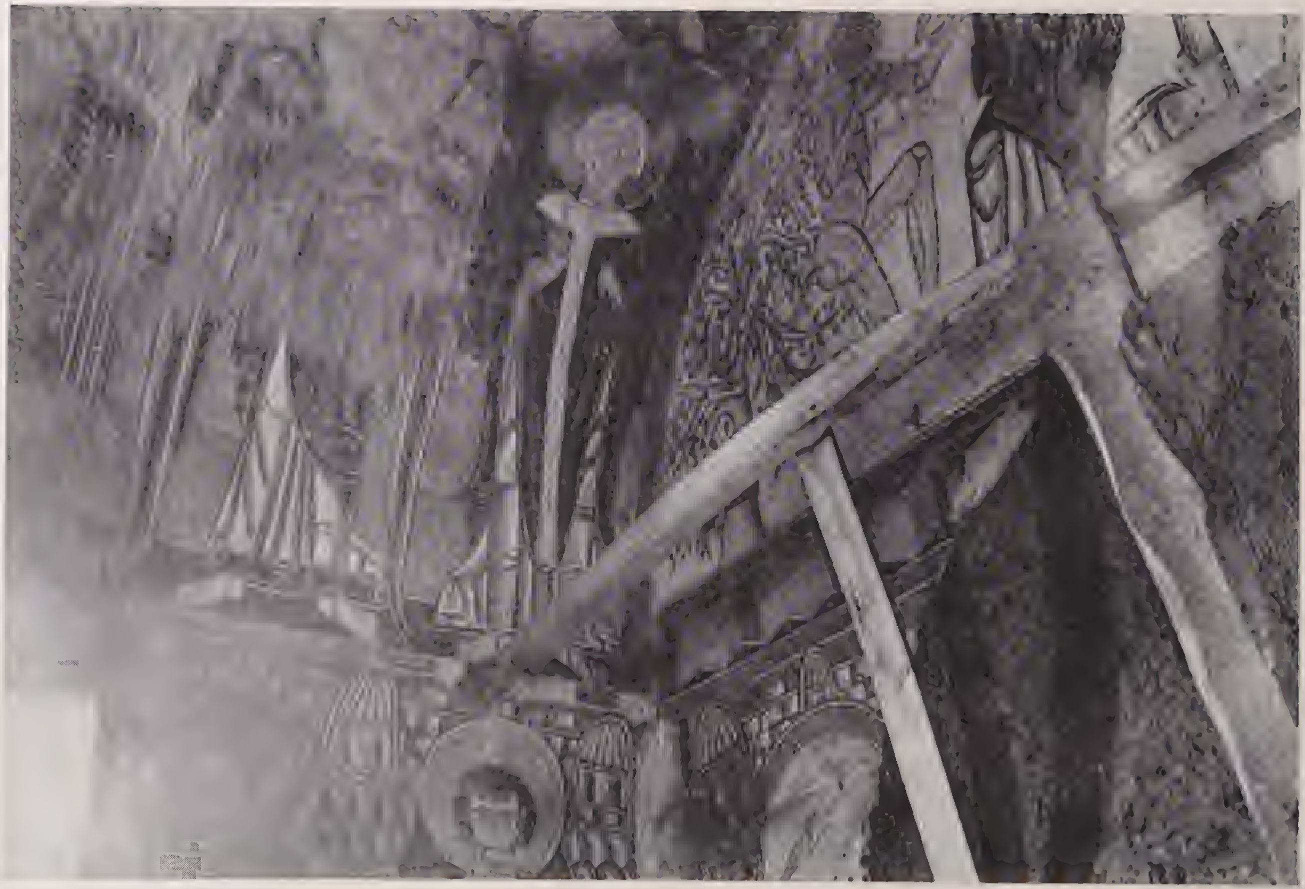

FIG. 46. FRESCOES IN SOUTHWEST END OF ERMITA DE LA VERA CRUZ, MADERUELO

(Photo. Kuhn)

It is possible that, at a point on the south side where the subsequent insertion of a window has manifestly cut away one of the six Apostles and a large part of a second, there was also a third figure destroyed, which would have made seven on this side and thus have filled out the expanse here likewise. The six Apostles on the north side carry books, except perhaps the one at the eastern extreme, who may be St. Peter with the keys; for the books three of the Apostles at the south substitute scrolls. There is no indication that there was still another zone of polychromy simulating a curtain. In the chancel of St. Mary's, Kempley, England, the repertoire is strangely analogous, exhibiting the Pantocrator in the vault and the seated Apostles on the lateral walls. The intermediary zone is lacking at Kempley, but there is the further parallelism, in the Apostolic zone, of an extra figure on each side in addition to the two groups of six.

The east end of the chapel at Maderuelo was not a semicircular apse but a flat wall. The lunette formed at its top by the lines of the barrel vault exhibits a blue medallion of the Lamb of God set against a jewelled cross and upheld on either side by an angel bending to the curve of the medallion's circle. At the right and left of the medallion Cain and Abel present their respective offerings of the fruit of the ground and of a firstling of the flock with the postures and gestures characteristic of this frequent theme of Spanish Romanesque art. Beneath the lunette is a window retaining in the archhead its decoration of the dove of the Holy Spirit in a mandorla flanked by floral *motifs*. The space at the left of the window is consigned to a large and striking representation of the Magdalene using her long locks to wipe Our Lord's feet, with the curious iconographic addition of a directing angel. The corresponding scene at the right is the Epiphany, consisting of the Madonna and Child in one compartment and the first Wise Man presenting his gift in another; but, there is again an iconographic anomaly, namely the absence of the other two Magi, unless the first pair of the possibly seven seated forms in the adjoining zone on the south wall are to be conceived as these characters rather than Apostles. The lunette at the western end of the chapel is divided between the creation of Adam at the left and the episode of our first parents covering their nakedness at the right. The two scenes are separated by a tree of which the upper part strangely assumes the shape of a vase shooting forth sprigs like a bouquet of flowers; another tree is a setting for Adam's birth, and the Tree of Life, serpent-infested, is the centre of the Fall. The last two arboreal specimens are superb pieces of Romanesque conventionalization, and in the nudes an impressive design in powerfully drawn lines rather than naturalism has been the artist's aim. The painted architectural setting that forms a background to the zone of Apostles was continued beneath the western lunette and still remains fragmentarily in this largely ruined section of the building, proving that the space was once decorated in part with figured subjects or at least with this pure design and that there would have been thus only a comparatively little place for a door of entrance. The logical, though not inevitable, conclusion from the smallness of the door would be that the building was not the apse of a larger edifice but itself the whole Ermita. The banded backgrounds are employed everywhere except in the Pantocrator's mandorla and in the creamy white setting to the scenes of Genesis. Following the usual custom the haloes of the Apostles and perhaps also of the angels are alternately red and yellow.

Disconcerting analogies to such a Catalan cycle as that of Sta. María de Tahull again put in their appearance at Maderuelo as at Berlanga. It is not only that, as in so many parts of the Berlanga frescoes, the painted architectural setting for the Apostles, for the scenes of the Magdalene and of the Epiphany, and beneath the western lunette resembles the setting of the Apostles in the apse of Sta. María de Tahull with the curious columns, capitals, squinches, and the treatment of the intervening masonry as if it were a child's house of blocks. There is also a thematic parallelism, as in the animal-headed angels of the Evangelists and in the employment of the Epiphany as a part of the sacred repertoire. The features of the two seraphim, moreover, are very like the angelic countenances of Sta. María de Esterri de Aneu. Yet the latter resemblance may be only a chance, and the painter or painters of Maderuelo may have known Catalan precedent only as it was reflected at Berlanga. Or it is quite within the realm of possibility that the authors of neither of these Castilian cycles were familiar with Catalan art and that the similarities are due only to the general community of stock in Spanish Romanesque mural decoration and to the identity of sources. Certain it is that throughout the frescoes of Maderuelo one feels strongly the influence of the Beatus manuscripts. On the other hand the conclusion can with difficulty be avoided that Berlanga and Maderuelo are in some way linked together. There is more than the bond of the painted architectural setting or the fact that rocks appear to be symbolized in the lowest stripe of the background in the northern zone of the standing angels on the barrel vault by a *motif* like a stalk with a curving projection at the end exactly as in the Berlanga Resurrection and not very differently from the convention that appears in San Martín Sescorts in Catalonia. The types themselves and the various treatments of the hair at Maderuelo recall examples at Berlanga. If it is not the same atelier, the frescoists at Maderuelo were influenced by what they had seen at Berlanga. It was in this direction, from Berlanga to Maderuelo, that the relationship worked, for the latter cycle is patently posterior in time and probably to be dated about 1200. The primitive vim and snap of Berlanga have, in general, given way to more sophistication and conscious elegance. The most archaic passage is the scene of the washing of Christ's feet, but even here the queerly unsuccessful posture of the Saviour, as if He were kicking His penitent, is counterbalanced by an almost modern capability in delineating the Magdalene's activity. There is still not infrequent resort to the decorative "Languedoc fold," and the upper parts of the wings are generally conventionalized into beautiful scrolls.

The vestiges of frescoes in the cloister of S. Pedro at Soria have faded to such obscurity that for the most part their date and subjects cannot be determined; but there can still be descried the form of a Pantocrator that appears to be late Romanesque work of the first years of the thirteenth century.

The fact that until the end of the eleventh century Toledo was in infidel hands and that Mohammedan influence long persisted in the life and the architecture of the city would lead us to expect Moorish traces also in the frescoes of the sections, an apse and its vestibule, that were added to a former mosque to make the church that eventually came to be known as El Cristo de la Luz. But if the paintings were executed by *mudéjar* workmen, it is hard to see in them anything that is specifically Moorish. The figures in the niches of the vestibule were brought to light as early as 1871, but the paintings of the apse are a more recent discovery. The color has everywhere almost completely vanished. The semidome preserves its Pantocrator and, at the right, two of the Evangelistic signs. The conception of these effigies of Our Saviour in apses as connected with the Last Judgment is here once again demonstrated by the presence, under the lower sign, of the legend, *Venite benedicti*, from the description of the end of the world in the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. At the left side of the Pantocrator may still be read the first verse of the hundred and forty-eighth Psalm, in which the heavens are called upon to praise the Lord. The nimbus retains the blue of its background, diapered with spots that probably are the relics of floral *motifs* which are more clearly preserved in the background of the masculine figure in the vestibule. On the inner vertical surface of the arch of entrance to the apse, bending with its curve, may be discerned the forms of Jeremiah and (almost erased) Isaiah; to cover the whole length of the soffit, two (unidentified) figures are greatly elongated, whereas the common Romanesque trait of attenuation does not manifest itself in the rest of the frescoes except, to a certain extent, in the Pantocrator. The niches of the lateral walls of the vestibule display single, standing figures, at the upper right two feminine saints with the under parts of their bodies effaced and at the upper left, better preserved, two more feminine saints (Fig. 47) and at the lower left an unhaloed cleric (Fig. 48). Inasmuch as Amador de los Ríos was able to read beside the saint at the right carrying an archbishop's cross a form of the word Eulalia and beside the saint at the left with huge outspread hands (as an *orans*) *Martīā*, which he interpreted as standing for the virgin-martyr honored at Toledo, St. Martiana,[1] he suspected that the other two feminine

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[1] It ought possibly to be read rather as St. Martha or St. Martina. Professor Porter tells me that he has recently read it clearly as Martha.

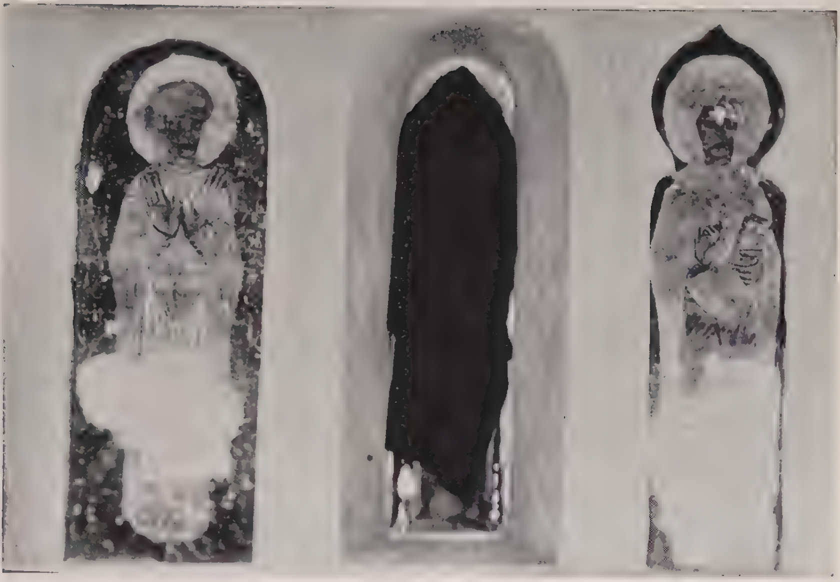

Fig. 47. FEMININE SAINTS, EL CRISTO DE LA LUZ, TOLEDO

(Photo. Porter)

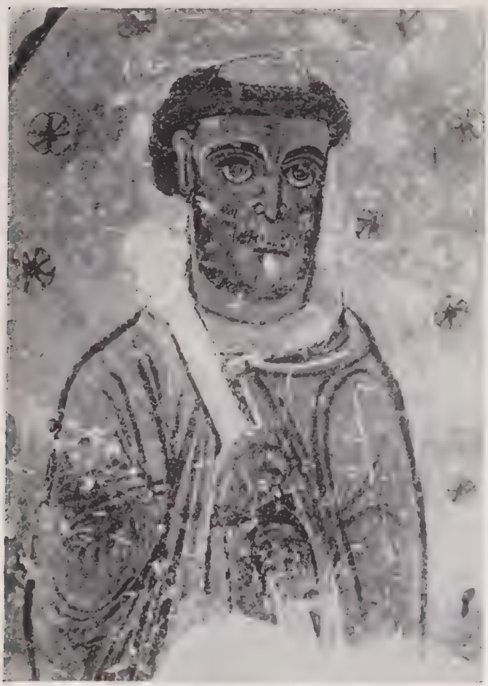

Fig. 48. PORTRAIT OF CLERIC, EL CRISTO DE LA LUZ, TOLEDO

(Photo. Porter)

saints might be other virgin-martyrs of Toledo, Sts. Leocadia and Obdulia. The cleric, holding the remains of what probably once depicted a pastoral staff, might be the Cluniac monk, Bernardo, the first archbishop of Toledo after the Reconquest, or, if the enterprise of the frescoes was initiated in connection with the donation of the church to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in 1186, the archbishop who was responsible for the gift, Gonzalo Pérez.

There can be little doubt that either the frescoes of the apse and the vestibule were executed by the same workshop, or else the apse was painted some few years later by masters who imitated closely the manner of the artists who had decorated the vestibule. If one feels in the apse a somewhat more mature style or is troubled here by what may perhaps seem a different epigraphy, he may choose between two alternatives: the apse may be a subsequent production of the same atelier or the work of another group of painters who followed the norms set by their predecessors. I myself can discover no sound objection to the contention that both sections were adorned contemporaneously. Not only is the stylistic community proved by general similarities but also by the presence in both sections of certain curious mannerisms. The strange convention by which the nails are carefully delineated as if they were on the inner side of the fingers of the outspread hands of Sts. Martiana and Eulalia is repeated on the two uplifted fingers of the Pantocrator. The monstrous hugeness of these ladies' hands is a deformity also of the Jeremiah on the arch. The Christ and the two figures on the soffit of the arch (although their bodies are more elongated) have the same peculiar stare of the large eyes, the pupils of which are encompassed by much white, as the saints in the vestibule. An identical mode of stylizing the drapery appears in the four figures of the arch and in the St. Martiana and her companion on the left wall. Inasmuch as we do not know just the moment at which the walls decorated with the frescoes were built by the Christians, whether immediately after the Reconquest in 1085 or, as Bertaux seems to believe, at the time of the donation to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in 1186, the architecture does not assist in the problem of dating, no matter which chronological theory of authorship we adopt, that of a contemporaneous or of a successive painting of the two parts. Lambert, in his monograph on Toledo, assigns the Christian architectural accretion to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The style, though somewhat different from that of the other extant mural paintings of Spain, makes it impossible to choose an earlier period for the commencement of the frescoing than the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century; and the whole commission was probably completed by at least 1250. The technical method is still pretty largely that of Romanesque craft, with lines drawn upon flat color, and yet, despite such irregularities as the huge and badly delineated hands, the primitive restrictions of the Romanesque are just beginning to show signs of relaxing in favor of the greater ease of Gothic. The effigy of the cleric, although the head is rather carelessly drawn, is approximating portraiture. The divergence in style from other Romanesque frescoes is perhaps not great enough to justify Bertaux's hypothesis of an isolated local school, but, nevertheless, the divergence exists, manifesting itself particularly in the type of countenance and (with the already noted exceptions) in the somewhat short and stocky canon of the human form. Bertaux describes the feminine costumes as oriental (i. e., Moorish), but they do not vary essentially from those found in many other Romanesque paintings, and it was probably the different type of body and face that deluded him into believing that the garments which clothed them were likewise not the same. The comparative stubbiness of form suggests Coptic art; and there is no harm in hazarding the guess that the connection of the Moors with the frescoes of El Cristo de la Luz consisted, not in any influence of their own upon the paintings, but in the transmission of the Christian style of Egypt to the Spaniards.

Vague and unverified reports have recently been afloat of the existence of Romanesque frescoes and panel paintings in the remote churches of towns lost in the Asturian mountains, but a certain scepticism about any real foundation for such rumors is as yet justified by previous experience in finding alleged early Gothic frescoes in this region to belong to a later period and by the barren outcome of investigation of similar stories in regard to Romanesque paintings in Galicia. Arduous visits to the difficultly accessible churches in rural Galicia where cycles of Romanesque frescoes had been recorded have yielded to the present writer almost totally negative results. Either the paintings turn out to be early Gothic, as in the abbey of S. Martín de Mondoñedo[1] north of Mondoñedo, or late Gothic, as at Fión near Pantón west of Monforte and in the church of Sta. Eulalia de Espenuca on the top of a mountain near Coirós southeast of La Coruña; or the churches where they were once claimed as existing have been demolished, as at Santiago de Arnego east of Lalín or Sta. María de Lestedo southeast of Santiago de Compostela; or the reported frescoes have disappeared or been covered by plaster, as at Vilar de Sarria, a suburb of Sarria north of Orense, and as in the probably Visigothic church of Sta. Comba de Bande south of Orense on the borders of Portugal.

In distinction from Fión, where at least today no traces of more primitive painting are visible, the frescoes in the apse of Sta. María de Castrelo de Miño just east of Ribadavia, which are rustic work probably of the late sixteenth century and have perhaps also been retouched at more recent dates, appear to reveal evidence of having been laid over an earlier pictorial stratum that seems to be late Romanesque rather than early Gothic. The semidome is devoted to the Last Judgment. Christ, nude except for a mantle behind Him, which may be due wholly to the later repainter, stretches forth His arms at the centre. At the right are the saints and at the left, enjoying the ministrations of angels, the uncanonized blessed. Below this group at the left Sts. Peter and Michael receive souls into heaven; the scene below the saints at the right I was unable to decipher. Underneath Our Lord is a kind of rainbow at the sides of which are Moses and David, but the painting within the rainbow is hidden by the present retable. In such rude and now darkened creations dogmatism is dangerous, but, unless my eye deceives me, the heads of the Saviour and of several of the saints belong to an earlier stratum of late Romanesque days. It is unlikely that in these few heads the sixteenth century painter would consciously have imitated an archaic style and not in the rest of the fresco, and it is to be supposed that these bits of the original Romanesque covering of the apse have now come through the subsequent recoating or that, because they were still in a good state of preservation in the sixteenth century, the redecorator left them unchanged. How closely he followed the general composition of the Romanesque fresco, it is impossible to say. The soffit of the first rib of the barrel vaulting in front of the apse also retains paintings but apparently of yet another epoch, figures of Abraham and of another worthy of the old dispensation that seem to be the production of some peasant craftsman of the fifteenth century.

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[1] See vol. II, pp. 140–141.

CHAPTER X

ROMANESQUE PANEL PAINTINGS

1. General Characteristics

Since the Romanesque panel paintings are nearly confined to Catalonia, since they largely share with the frescoes stylistic elements and what qualities of beauty they possess, and since many of their features have been touched upon above in the general discussion of Spanish Romanesque painting, they may here be treated more summarily. In the thirteenth century and perhaps at the same given moment in that century some panels may be already Gothic in manner, while others hark back to the Romanesque style; and several of the examples that have usually been mentioned in treatments of Catalan Romanesque art have in this book been relegated to the pages on early Gothic. Although such transpositions have been attempted only in cases where the Gothic qualities seemed clearly evident, there are certain specimens in which it is a delicate matter to determine whether the Romanesque or Gothic traits are more pronounced, and the assignment to one group or the other may appear to the reader rather arbitrary.

Of the various kinds of panels that served as furnishings of the altar, the more numerous antependia deserve first consideration. Almost all have the same general scheme of composition. The centre is occupied by the enthroned Christ or Virgin enclosed in a nimbus usually of elliptical shape (i. e., a mandorla) but occasionally of different form; in the spandrels of the nimbus there are sometimes small symbols of the Evangelists or figures of angels but frequently mere pure design; and the lateral spaces are normally subdivided by a horizontal border, so as to make four compartments, containing episodes from the life of the Saviour, the Virgin, or some saint, or figures of the Prophets, Apostles, or other holy personages. The composition is similar in the scanty painted examples in the rest of Europe.[1]

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[1] For an enumeration of the examples, see J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 112 ff.

The antependium, for instance, from the Walpurgis-Kirche at Soest, now in the Landesmuseum, Münster, executed probably at the end of the twelfth century, displays in the centre the Pantocrator and Evangelistic signs and in the two full-length compartments formed at each side (here not subdivided horizontally) St. Walpurgis, the Virgin, the Baptist, and a canonized bishop. The most numerous specimens outside of Spain exist in Norway, particularly in the Museum at Bergen. Analogous in arrangement to the Spanish examples, though with certain minor differences,[1] they all date from the Gothic epoch. In the frontal of Hitterdal in Norway,[2] the central Pantocrator is surrounded by the seated Apostles consigned, in groups of three, to the four lateral compartments that usually appear in the antependia of Catalonia. The smallness of space in the narrative sections of the Catalan panels limited the number of actors and made for a pleasing simplicity in the telling of a story.

The Catalan arrangement of the themes that has just been outlined is scarcely violated at all until the very end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, but, when now the Romanesque traditions and canons commenced to disintegrate before the oncoming Gothic, innovations and modifications put in their appearance even in examples that still clung in their execution essentially to the Romanesque style. The mildest of these modifications corresponds to the scheme of those Catalan frescoes in which, in the Epiphany, the Virgin and Child face the spectator in bald frontality, with the Magi at the side. In the antependia of this sort, the large Madonna is ensconced in the central compartment, and the three Kings are consigned to one of the smaller upper or lower lateral sections, so that they have to be dwarfed to a disproportionate size. They are, nevertheless, conceived as presenting their gifts and are thus strangely brought into connection with the larger Virgin and Child. The rest of the lateral sections are occupied by other related themes. The relatively small size of the Wise Men makes the Epiphany in these frontals more similar to the treatment in the apse of Sta. María de Esterri de Aneu than to either of the renderings in Sta. María de Tahull or to those at Fenouillar and Barbará.

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[1] For the differences, see *ibid.*, 114.

[2] L. Dietrichson and H. Munthe, *Die Holzbaukunst Norwegens*, 67.

In the thirteenth century the nimbus was often abandoned around the Saviour or Virgin of the central compartment, and a frequent substitution for such a frame was a trilobed arch. Another innovation, which declared itself even as early as the twelfth century and became almost the regular practice of Gothic, was the allotting of the middle space to a saint rather than to the Pantocrator or the Mother of God. In some instances the large central compartment and figure were given up altogether, and the whole field was separated into a series of small subdivisions devoted to narrative scenes. The antependium from Bolvir (near Puigcerdá) in the Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona not only lacks a central figure, but, according to a mediaeval custom that goes back to a period as early as that of the Christian sarcophagi and the pagan reliefs by which they were influenced, it does not even separate by partitions the episodes from the lives of St. Cecilia and her husband which are distributed in two zones. The same Museum contains also the oddest of these anomalies, a panel from the monastery of S. Saturnino de Tabernoles (at Anserall, near La Seo de Urgel) in which the whole space is taken up by a simple alignment of nine canonized prelates, but the painting may have been, not a frontal, but a retable or, as Folch has guessed, a lid of the sarcophagus of the bishop represented at the centre of the group.

The characteristic Catalan rudeness of technique and modelling prevails in the panels as in the frescoes; but the Christ or Virgin at the centre of a frontal was likely to be better executed than the lateral figures, because it was to be a more significant and conspicuous form and because the painter had behind him a more abundant tradition for depicting Our Lord or His Mother. The majority of the frontals present that phenomenon of the alternation of red and yellow backgrounds in the narrative panels, of a checkering of red and yellow within the background of a single compartment, or of some other kind of alternation of red and yellow, which has already been described as an inheritance from Spanish illumination. The background of a narrative scene is ordinarily a mere expanse of flat color or colors; even the symbolic Romanesque suggestion of a setting by a bit of a building, a tree, or a rock is quite as rare as it is in the frescoes. A simple but delightful decorative effect is produced in almost all the panels by the frank juxtaposition of great blocks of flat and vivid color, whether or not yellow and red, not only in the backgrounds but also in the costumes and other objects, so that at some distance in the church, where the definition of the forms could not be plainly seen, the worshipper would have obtained a pleasant, purely ornamental impression, augmented by the strict symmetry of the main outlines of the composition that from this point would alone be visible. The derivation of the antependia from the metal and enamel examples and their constant imitation of these prototypes have been mentioned in chapter III. The concave disks, for instance, which, decorated with figured or pure design in polychromy, are so often employed to ornament the borders, constitute an attempt to reproduce the convex disks of the enamelled frames. The bands of jewelled inlay are frequently counterfeited in paint, and of this practice there are even some examples in the frescoes, as on one of the moldings of the nimbus of the Blessed Virgin at Pedret and of the Pantocrator at S. Clemente de Tahull. Even when the rest of the antependium is rendered in paint, the borders are often embossed in stucco in order to increase the similarity to the more costly specimens of the goldsmith's craft.

2. The Frontals of the Twelfth Century Related to Contemporary Mural Painting

We may consider first a series of antependia which have been grouped together by Professor Cook, which are closest in style to the frescoes, and which seem to be influenced by the contemporary sculpture of Languedoc. One of the earliest frontals yet discovered, No. 9 of the Museum at Vich, found in the church of Montgrony (near Ripoll) and displaying the Pantocrator in the centre and four scenes from the life of St. Martin at the sides (Fig. 49), has sometimes been dated at the beginning of the eleventh century but is assigned by Professor Porter to the last quarter of the eleventh century and by Professor Cook to the first quarter of the twelfth. The contrast is startling, in this instance, between the rather finely delineated and stately

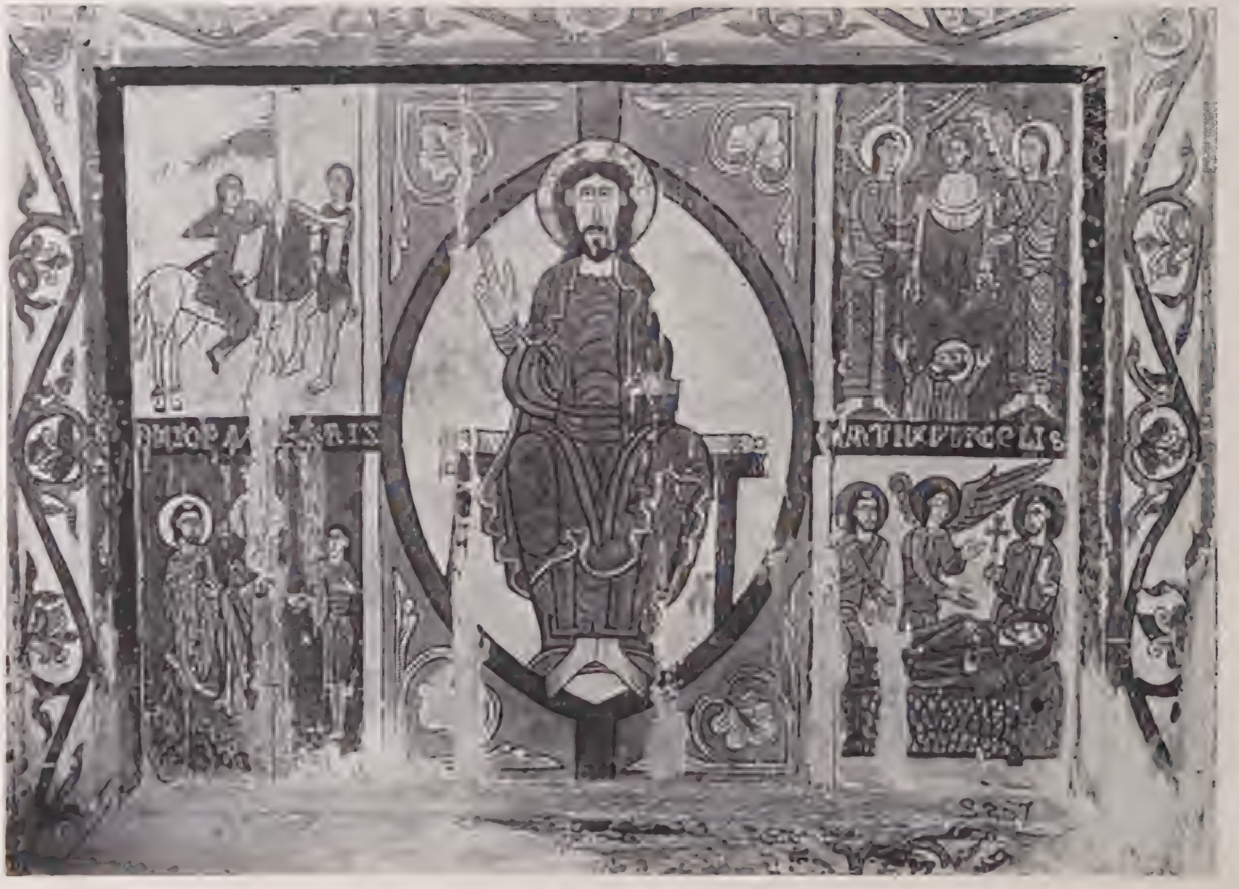

FIG. 49. FRONTAL OF ST. MARTIN. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Christ, who is very similar to the figures of the Pantocrator in the apses, and the almost puerile rendering of the narrative, for example, in the episode of St. Martin dividing his coat with the beggar. The color-scheme is pretty largely confined to a vibration of red and yellow: the backgrounds of the lateral compartments alternate these two tones, the expanse of the mandorla is yellow, whereas its spandrels are red, and the foliate ornaments on the spandrels are again yellow with red lines of interior drawing.

In the same group Professor Cook rightly places two frontals coming from the region of La Seo de Urgel and now in the Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona, in both of which Christ at the centre sits, uniquely for these Spanish panels, in a nimbus formed by the intersection of two circles, corresponding to the glory of interwoven ellipses about the Virgin from the north wall of Sta. María de Tahull. The themes, types, draperies, and ornamental *motifs* are so nearly identical that it cannot be doubted that both panels were produced by a single atelier, whether or not the other antependia of the group were made in this or a related workshop. Those who would carry back the frontal of St. Martin into the early eleventh century are obliged to ascribe these two specimens to the same epoch, but the proper date is apparently the first half of the twelfth century, perhaps some twenty-five years subsequent to the Montgrony frontal. In one of these antependia the usual four Catalan lateral spaces are again subdivided vertically so as to make eight compartments, each containing two figures; six of the compartments are assigned to St. Peter and the remaining eleven Apostles, and the other pair to St. Martin with the beggar and St. Martin with the resurrected catechumen (Fig. 50). In the other antependium, the sides, by exception, are not subdivided either horizontally or vertically, and the greater spaces thus created enclose larger figures of the Apostles, those that should be in second and third planes rising above the others in a pyramidal arrangement that was a mediaeval substitute for a proper perspective. Although the frontals were found in the vicinity of La Seo de Urgel, it is hard to follow Folch in discerning in them any closer analogy to the frescoes of S. Miguel de la Seo than the general parallelism of this whole group of antependia to the monu-

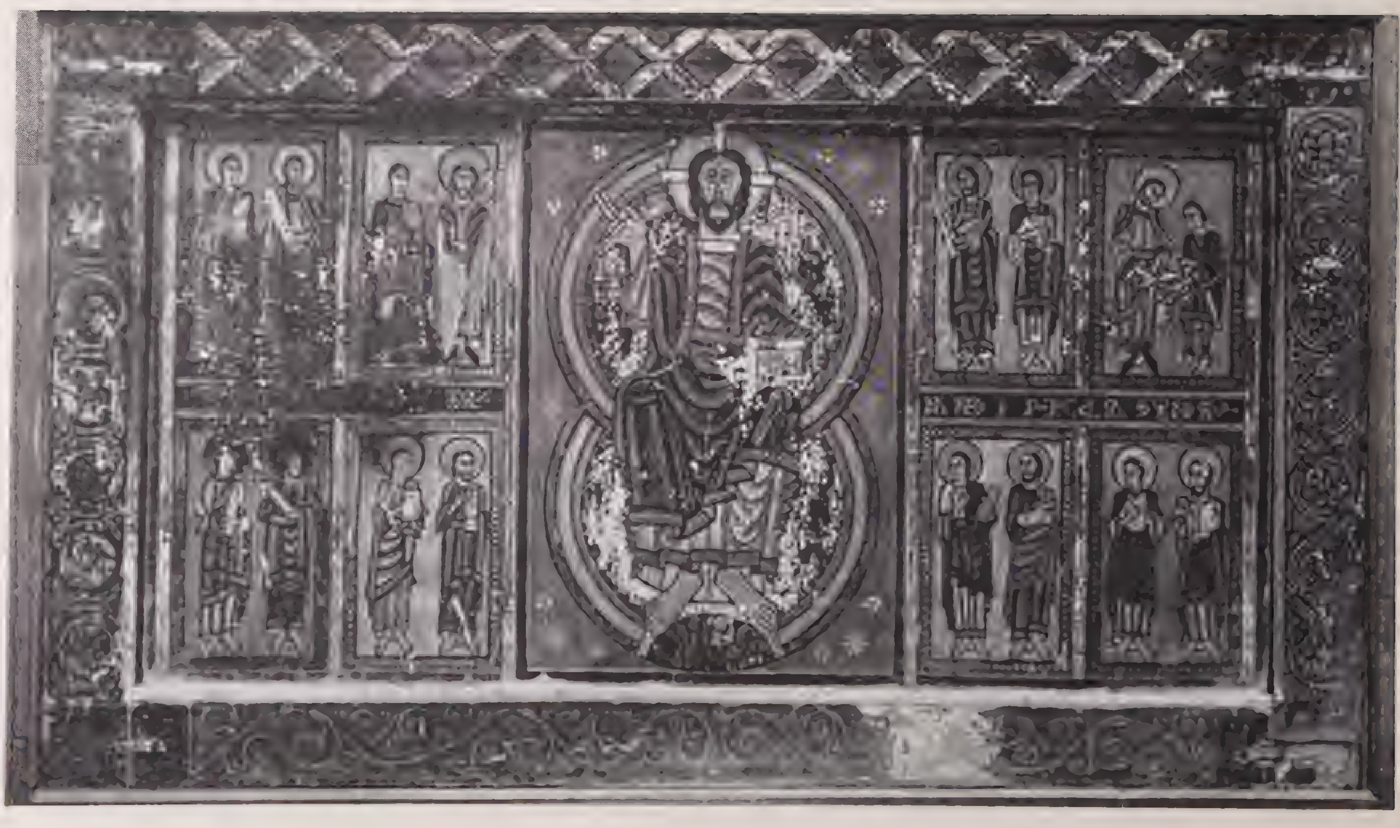

Fig. 50. FRONTAL FROM REGION OF LA SEO DE URGEL. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

mental style of all the mural paintings. The special similarity that he endeavors to trace in the draperies does not hold, for the outlines and folds in the two frontals are much more rigid. The Apostles in one of the panels are divided into pairs, but they do not converse as in the apse of S. Miguel de la Seo. Nor does it seem possible to agree with Folch in seeing any particular resemblance of the Pantocrator to the representations of Him in the Catalan Romanesque Bibles of Farfa and Roda. The fact that He is depicted in these manuscripts at the intersection of two nimbuses is not determinative, for He appears there also in other types of glories, and almost every kind of frame for the Saviour seems to have been utilized in Spain. The two antependia resort to very much the same extensive alternation of red and yellow as the panel of Montgrony.

The honor of achieving the closest approximation to the style of the frescoes belongs to an antependium formerly in the Barnola Collection, Barcelona, but now in the possession of Don Jaime Espona and alleged to have come originally from Vich (Fig. 51). The affinity to the other members of this group of antependia appears not only in the style, especially in the attainment of monumentality, but also in the themes. The Pantocrator in a mandorla occupies the central compartment, but the spandrels now are adorned, not with pure design, as in the other three antependia of the group, but with the signs of the Evangelists. The four lateral sections contain the standing Apostles in companies of three. There is some restoration in the lower left compartment and on the narrow framing border of the whole panel; in the lower right compartment almost all is completely modern except the upper half of the middle Apostle. The analogy to the frescoes extends even to the employment of striped backgrounds in the lateral compartments, unique among the as yet discovered antependia; because of the stylistic parallelisms to the mural paintings it is probable that the master took the idea from this source rather than directly from the manuscripts. The topmost stripe is red, the next yellow, and the lowest green (representing, perhaps, an original blue); and the usual effect, in these antependia, of vibrating red and yellow is continued in the central compartment, where, as in the other frontals of the group, the background of the mandorla is yellow

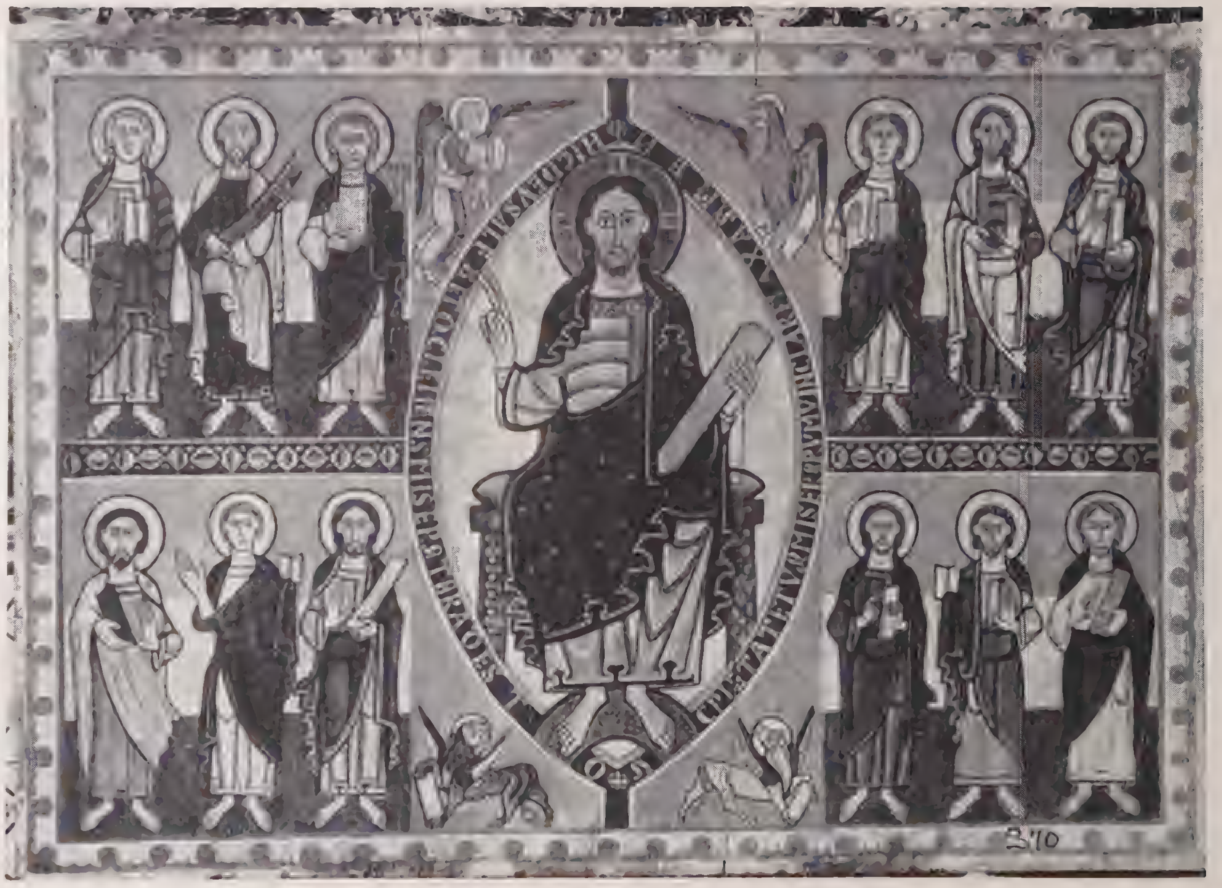

Fig. 51. FRONTAL. ESPONA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

and the spandrels red. The imitation of a series of precious stones in the border that divides the upper from the lower lateral compartments is one of the many instances in the frontals of an attempt to reproduce the effects of a goldsmith's antependium. The assignment of the Espona frontal to the group is further justified by similarities of the Pantocrator to the same figure on another work, not an antependium, that belongs in this general coterie, one of the sloping panels substituted for ciboriums in Catalonia, now in the Museum of Vich.[1] It is to be distinguished from the other ciborium-panel in this Museum by the fact that it is only fragmentary and shows three angels surrounding the Saviour. There are, however, palpable differences between the Espona and Vich panels, especially in the type of Our Lord's countenance, but Professor Cook may be right in explaining them partly by the later date of the former work. The Vich canopy he places about 1150, so that he is obliged to push the Espona frontal somewhat further on in the century, a conclusion in which it is easy to concur. The skilled and delicate craftsmanship, however, cannot be ascribed wholly to the somewhat late moment in the Romanesque period at which the antependium was created, and it must also be a legacy to us from a hand of considerable artistic distinction. The correspondence of the Vich canopy and the Espona frontal is slim evidence for Professor Cook's hypothesis of their production by an atelier in the Plana de Vich, especially since it is not absolutely known that the two pieces were originally in churches of Vich or the neighborhood. We need not suppose that he would claim that such a workshop produced also the antependia of Montgrony and La Seo de Urgel. Nor do I perceive a sufficiently close analogy of the antependium and *baldacchino* to the frescoes of S. Miguel de la Seo to accept Gudiol's contention of a single authorship for all three monuments; but I could be more easily forced into admitting the hand of the frescoist in the *baldacchino* than in the frontal.

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[1] The validity of these similarities is strengthened by the consideration that both Professor Cook and I were independently struck by them. Both of us also arrived independently at the same conclusion in regard to the dates.

3. The Highly Stylized Frontals

We may construct a second group from those antependia in which the drapery is so highly stylized as actually to assume in places the shapes of formal scrolls, concentric circles or ellipses, or even floral and foliate patterns without regard to the definition of the folds, and in which these designs are made as obvious and striking as were to be the brocades in the late Gothic painting of Catalonia. By this grouping it is not meant that the frontals were produced by the same atelier (although such might conceivably be the case with the frontals of St. Margaret and of the Virgin at Vich) or that they are very similar in other respects than the stylization, but they are here brought together only in an attempt to introduce some logical system of arrangement into the mass of material afforded by the Catalan panels. The conventionalization is more extravagant than in the case of the "flying fold" of Languedoc at the lower edge of a garment and is, besides, carried through a large part of the draperies. That it is a schematization of the folds and not, as in frontals which do not belong to this group (No. 4 of the Museum at Vich and the Aviá frontal of the Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona) a mere brocade or pattern in the actual fabric of the cloth or a superimposed decorative flourish, is proved by the considerations that the lines of the stylized folds are a continuation, in each garment, of those which are not thus stylized, that the *motifs* are not arranged in an orderly repetition as they would be if they were figures woven into cloth, and that there is a gradual development, in this series of antependia, from a moderate aspect of the schematization, in which the scrolls or circles still bear some resemblance to folds, to the extreme instances in which the verisimilitude has been lost. In the slight reference to the peculiar stylization vouchsafed by other writers on Spanish art, it has been usual to ascribe it to a potent influence of oriental models. Nothing, however, that approximates an exact prototype for the curious form that the schematization takes can be adduced in the Persian, Arabic, or any other oriental school. Persian miniatures, indeed, had not yet come into existence or were in their veriest infancy. The starting-point for the antependia may have been the Beatus illuminations, since the mannerism, for instance, occurs as early as in a tenth century Beatus manuscript of the Morgan Library[1] with almost exactly the same kind of scrolls in the drapery as in the Vich frontal of St. Lawrence. It is just possible that the tendency to extreme stylization both in the manuscripts and the frontals was stimulated by the general similar proclivity of Moorish and other oriental art, although the exact nature of the stylization in these eastern examples is not the same; or it may have developed independently in the manuscripts and thence spread to the panels. A further impulse may have come from the fantastic shapes of the stylization in early Irish illuminations that had wandered into Spanish hands. There are some examples, at least of a schematization into scrolls and spirals, in other Romanesque painting, for instance, as we have seen, even in Spain in the fresco of the Crucifixion in S. Isidoro at Leon; and precedents exist in German Othonian miniatures, as in the spirals over the knees of St. Mark in the Evangelarium of the eleventh century, A II 18 of the Library at Bamberg, or as in the accentuated crescents which are so frequent in the drapery of the Abedinghover Evangelarium of the same century in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, and which are almost as extravagant a phase of conventionalization as that exhibited in the Catalan frontals of St. Margaret and the Virgin.

The antependium of St. Lawrence, No. 8 of the Museum at Vich (Fig. 52), was found in the church of S. Lorenzo at Dosmunts, northeast of Vich, a town attached to the municipality of Pruit. The central compartment is occupied by the Pantocrator in a mandorla, with the Evangelistic signs in the spandrels, and the four lateral compartments are allotted to scenes from St. Lawrence's life. The decorative *motifs* of the beads and reels on the frame of the mandorla and on the bands that divide the lateral compartments are embossed in stucco. The Catalan predilection for an alternation of red and yellow crops forth again, applied to the open expanses of the arcades which form the background of the narrative episodes but which curiously appear as mere masses of color without any separating shafts. The convention of the spot of red against the yellowish

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[1] Not, of course, the Beatus of the thirteenth century mentioned in connection with the frescoes of S. Pedro de Arlanza.

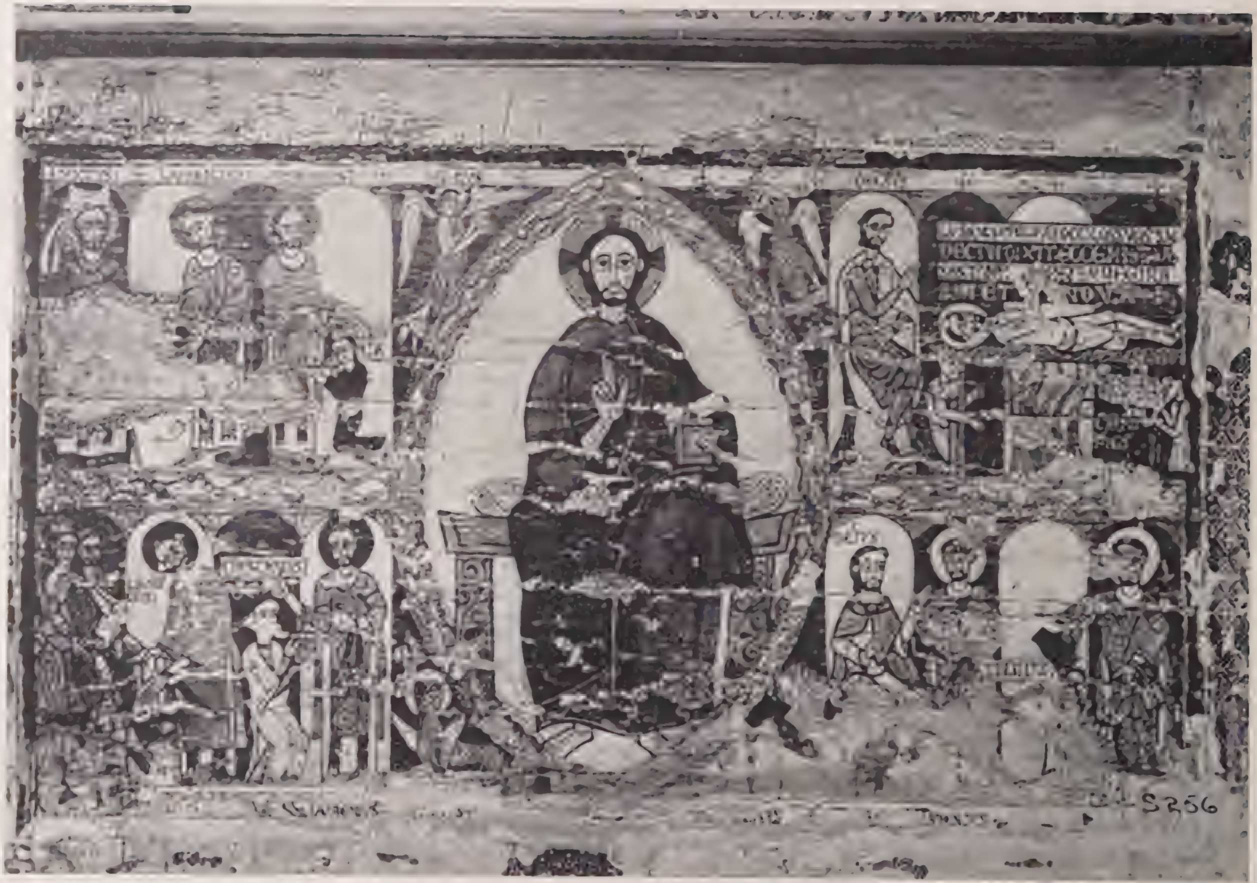

FIG. 52. FRONTAL OF ST. LAWRENCE. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

flesh of the cheeks, which was one of the few ways in which the Catalan Romanesque painters attempted any indication of modelling in chiaroscuro, here assumes not the usual form of a circle but of a triangle. The stylization of the folds of the garments in scrolls and spirals may be seen in the lateral sections but is particularly conspicuous on the large Pantocrator. Strangely combined with the high conventionalization is the beginning of a tendency towards naturalism, embodied in the use, for the executioners under St. Lawrence's gridiron, of the almost caricatured popular type that is so typical of Catalan Romanesque art and in the much more decided Catalan ethnic character of the Saviour's head, as compared with the same detail in the group of antependia that we have just been studying. One of the determinative features in this characterization is the jet-blackness of the hair, beard, and moustache. Although archaizers have here again thought of the eleventh century, a date in the second half of the twelfth century and probably rather late in the century is suggested by a draughtsmanship considerably more advanced than that of the Montgrony panel, and is not contradicted by details of costume, such as the mitre of Pope Sixtus.

In the already mentioned frontal, retable, or sarcophagus-lid of the bishops in the Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona (Fig. 53), the folds of the garments are here and there schematized into scrolls of more delicate lines than those of the antependium of St. Lawrence, which came from a different atelier. The whole composition of the panel, indeed, is conceived with highly conventionalized formality. As in the figures of the Elders in the frescoes of the cathedral of Anagni, a rhythm of repetition plays through a range of attenuated bodies. The eight bishops that flank the central prelate are reproductions of one another, except for slight variations in the drapery subtly introduced to avoid monotony. The general masses and outlines of the vestments are the same, and their repetition, together with that of the identical hands and obliquely held books, contributes much to the rhythmical sequence. Even the central dignitary, who is varied from the four bishops at either side of him just enough to prevent the iteration from being tedious, continues the rhythm of the staffs held in the left hands. The lovely curve

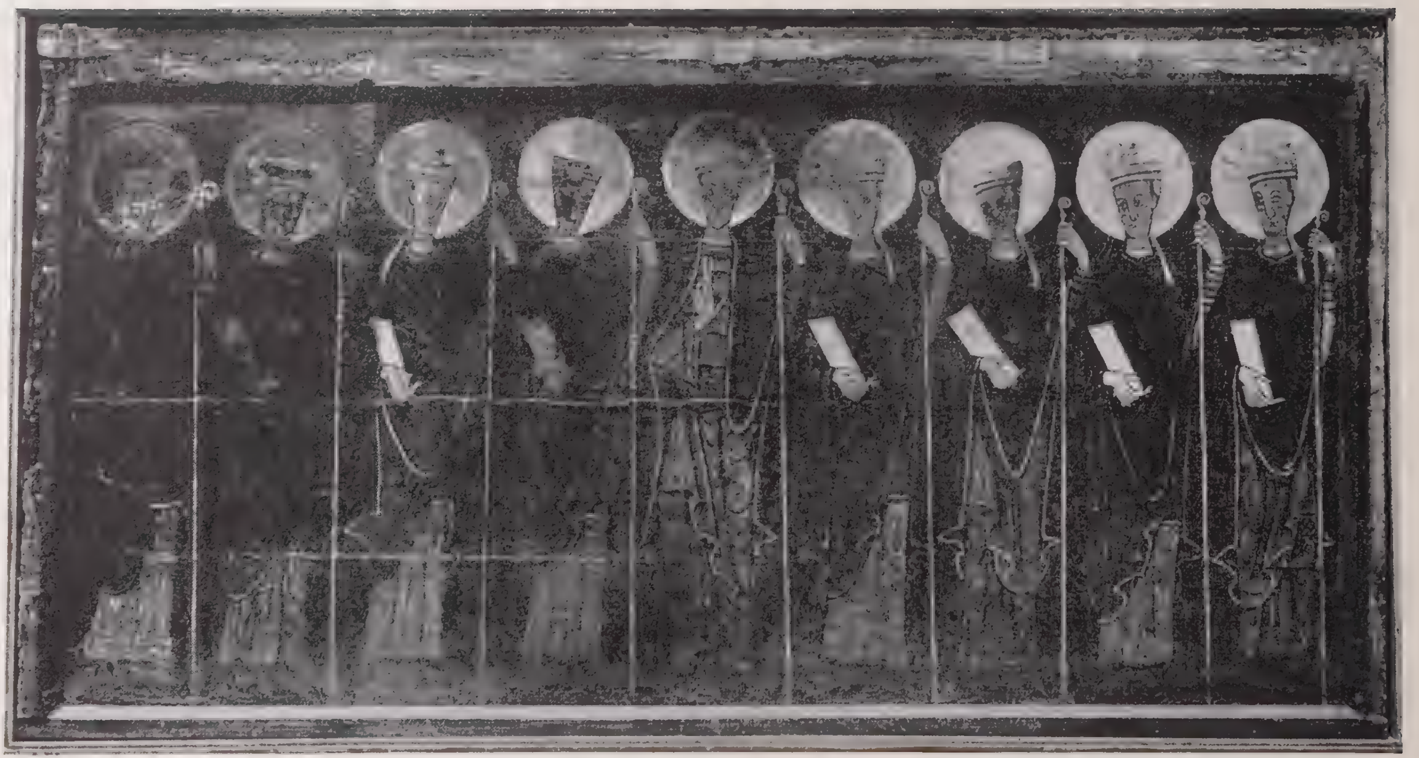

Fig. 53. FRONTAL OF BISHOPS. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(From G. Richert, "Mittelalterliche Malerei in Spanien")

that these arms take serves to obviate any rigidity. The subject of the panel is a knotty question. Were it not for the haloes, one might guess that the personages were an archbishop and his suffragans or a mitred abbot and his dependents of the same ecclesiastical rank. In any case, about the beauty of the work there is no problem. An exquisiteness of draughtsmanship above the norm of Romanesque attainment combines with the solemnity and the rhythm to make the panel, despite its half-ruined condition, one of the most masterly achievements of the early mediaeval art of Catalonia. Only the delineation of the heads falls somewhat below the standard set in the rest of the production. No one has proposed a date earlier than the middle of the twelfth century. The lateral clerics wear a form of the horned mitre that was characteristic of the second half of the century, and the central cleric the shape, with the triangles in front and behind, that was popular in the thirteenth century. Since, however, there does not seem to have been any strict rule in either century in regard to the kind of mitre that should be worn, too much chronological importance must not be given to this detail of costume; but so far as it has any value as evidence, it would suggest the turn of the century. With this date the stage of technical development is in accord, implying by a lingering archaism rather the end of the twelfth century than the beginning of the thirteenth.

The antependium of St. Margaret, No. 5 of the Museum at Vich (Fig. 54), said to have come from a chapel dedicated to this saint near Torelló (north of Vich), though too different from the frontal of St. Lawrence to have been produced by the same workshop, yet exhibits some similarities and may likewise be assigned to the second half of the twelfth century. The stylization consists, in all sections, in the most patent designs of concentric circles or ellipses that resemble the rings formed in wood. The enthroned Virgin and Child in a mandorla upheld in the spandrels by four angels take the place of the Pantocrator in the central compartment, and episodes from the life of St. Margaret occupy the smaller lateral subdivisions. The proclivity for extreme stylization manifested in the rings of the drapery affects the drawing and composition in many other respects, especially in an even more absolute conventionalization

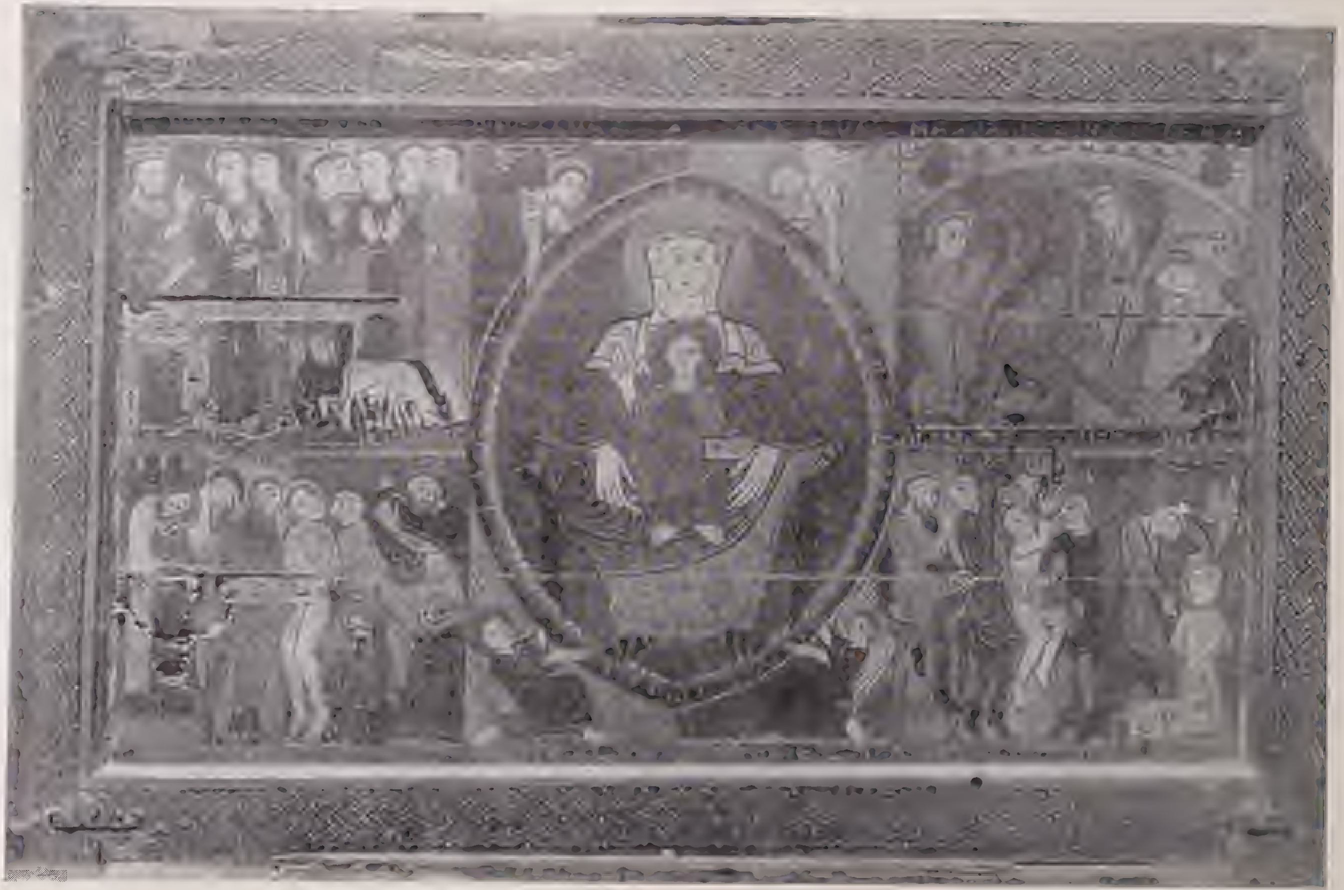

Fig. 54. FRONTAL OF ST. MARGARET. MUSEUM, VICH

(*Photo. Thomas*)

of the central compartment, at every point, than was usual in Catalan frontals. Not only is the form of the Virgin thrown into the customary strict frontality and symmetry, which is here carried into the almost exact balance with which the rings of the folds are repeated at either side; but her body broadens out until the width nearly equals the height and until her form is translated by the rigidly straight contours into the shape of a lozenge. In the upper left compartment the fleeces of St. Margaret's sheep are also conventionalized, according to a frequent practice of Romanesque art in the delineation of animals. Even more decided than in the case of the frontal of St. Lawrence is the contrast between the stylization and the free and lively popular imagination revealed in the lateral divisions by the unfolding of the picturesque story of St. Margaret. Although here too the draperies are twisted into concentric rings and although the countenances are fuller than was the Catalan wont, yet some of the spectators and the executioners possess the curiously obtuse facial features of the colloquial Catalan type. The divergence from the frontal of St. Lawrence, however, and from the other antependia hitherto considered is particularly apparent in the color, for in the frontal of St. Margaret the frequent use of a dark green imparts a different and a most agreeable tonality. The flesh is not yellow as in the Montgrony and St. Lawrence panels but white or creamy. The red spots of modelling on the cheeks assume the more normal shape of circles. A *motif* of rows of three white dots is employed effectively for the decoration of the Virgin's throne, the columns framing the scene of St. Margaret's encounter with the dragon, and the castellated gateway in the episode of her torture. The Catalan affection for decorative contrasts of broad masses of color is embodied in assigning to each of the angels that support the mandorla a pair of wings of a different tone.

In the antependium of the Virgin, No. 3 of the Museum at Vich (Fig. 55), the stylization culminates in its most extravagant form, actually bursting forth into floral and foliate patterns over the knees of the central Madonna, on the lower section of her tunic in the Nativity, and on the hip of Simeon in the Presentation. Since in other parts of the panel it appears in the concentric rings of the frontal of St. Margaret, one could not be blamed for supposing that the two pieces were produced in the same workshop, but this supposition must remain no more than a hypothesis, for the craftsmanship, as compared with that of the St. Margaret antependium, is somewhat slovenly, especially in the lateral compartments. There are even further differences, such as the personal types and the suppler draperies, and these more loosely flowing folds combine with other traits to suggest a date in the first years of the thirteenth century when the spirit of Gothic was already just beginning to dissolve Romanesque congelation. In one or two places the conventionalization of the folds is rather like the scrolls of the frontal of St. Lawrence, and there is a complete return to the tonality of an alternation of masses of red and yellow which occurs in that and many other panels of the twelfth century but which is not very characteristic of the frontal of St. Margaret. The divergences of the St. Lawrence and Virgin antependia, however, are too great to admit the possibility of a community of atelier; and the analogies in stylization merely demonstrate that the tendency to conventionalization was in the air, that one painter, as in all periods of art, caught ideas from the works of another, and that a more extreme fashion of schematization grew naturally out of a milder aspect. The way in which shops used traditional formulas without necessarily understanding their original significance is illustrated by the retention of the Evangelistic symbols in the spandrels of the central compartment although the mandorla contains, not the Pantocrator, but the Madonna and Child. In the four lateral compartments are the Annunciation, Nativity, Purification, and Assumption, the two former compositions, at the left, having a background of real arcades with columns, not the mere juxtaposed, arched spaces of the antependium of St. Lawrence. Not only are the frame of the mandorla and the horizontal borders dividing the lateral sections adorned with embossings but also the Virgin's crown. The spots on the cheeks are again round. The monotony of the alternation of red and yellow is prettily relieved by the charming greenish blue of the mantle worn by Our Lady in the central glory and in the narrative episodes; in all but one instance the tunic is a brick red. The mantle is embellished with a *motif* that frequently occurs in Catalan Romanesque painting

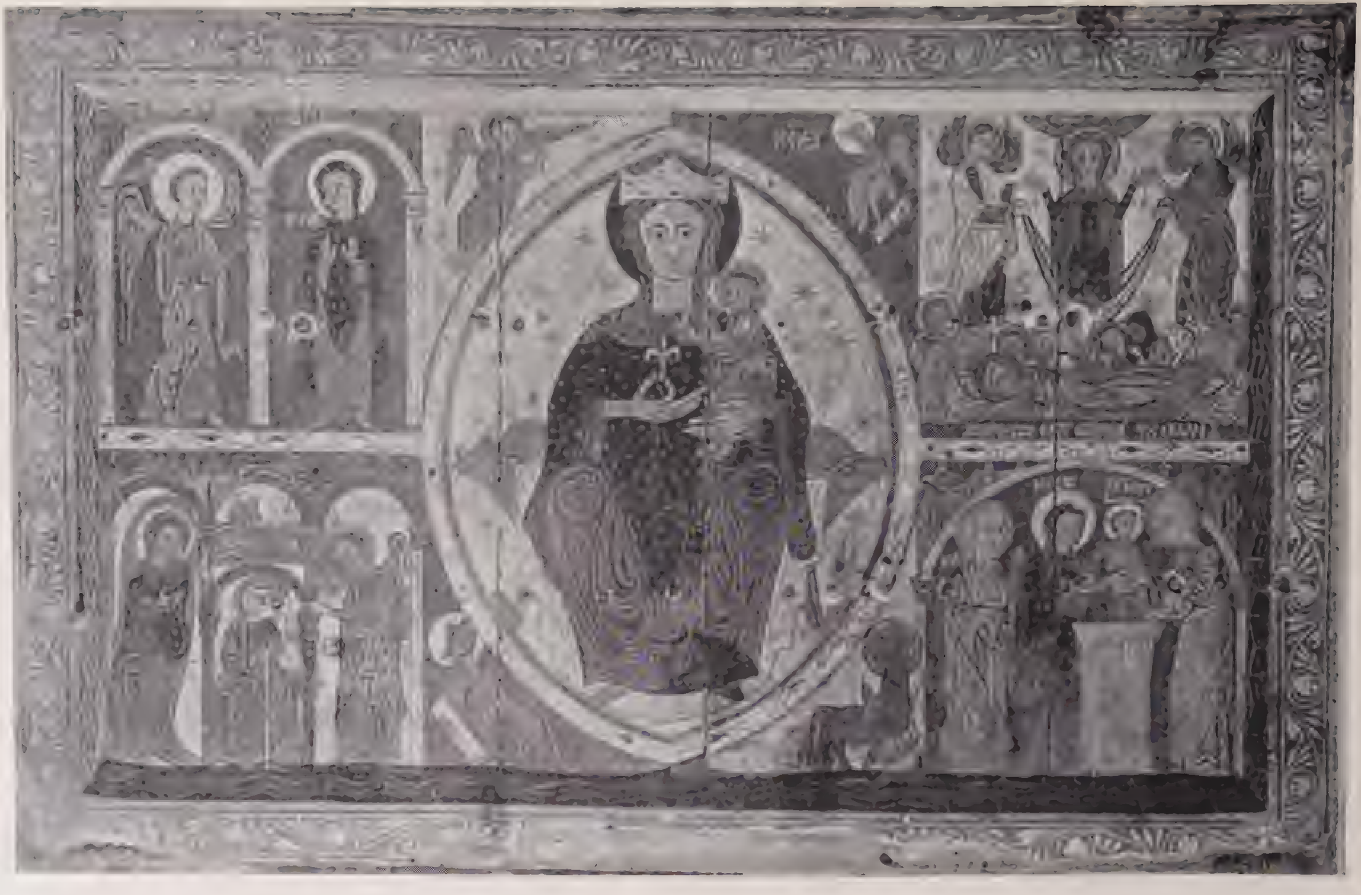

Fig. 55. FRONTAL OF THE VIRGIN, NO. 3 OF THE MUSEUM AT VICH

(Photo. Thomas)

of fabrics at the time and in the Beatus manuscripts, a delicate and simple pattern of grouped dots, here, as often, in a triangular arrangement of three.

4. OTHER FRONTALS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The number of the other frontals that can be attributed to so early a date as the twelfth century is very small. Of these, the antependium of Sts. Julitta and Quiricus in the Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona (Fig. 56) deserves precedence in mention because it perhaps shares with the frontal of Montgrony the distinction of being among the first extant Catalan panels. It is quite diverse in manner from this frontal, but it possesses one outstanding similarity, a dependence upon the frescoes or at least a community of style with them, although the frescoes that it resembles are not those to which the Montgrony panel and its companions are analogous. The parallels to the antependium of Sts. Julitta and Quiricus are the mural paintings of S. Juan de Bohí, and the panel was actually found in the Ermita de Sta. Yolita in the very near-lying parish of Durro. The frontal provides the earliest instance of the usurpation of the central compartment by a sacred personage other than the Saviour or the Virgin. The two early Christian saints Julitta and, in her arms, her infant son, Quiricus, whose cult enjoyed particular popularity in Catalonia in the Gothic as well as the Romanesque period, are ensconced in a mandorla and patterned to such a degree after representations of the Virgin and Child that they might be mistaken for these figures, were it not for the designating inscriptions. The four lateral compartments contain scenes of their tortures and martyrdom of such graphic horror that they might be set down to the count of Spanish naturalism, were it not that every detail, the sawing, the driving of nails in the orifices of the head, the boiling, and the actual decapitation, are paralleled in the *Acta Apocrypha* published in the Bollandists' account of these saints, whether the painter drew upon this source (dating from at least as early as the tenth century) or a similar version. It is to be noted, however, that here, in distinction from the *Acta Apocrypha*, the torments, except the boiling, are depicted as applied only to the mother. That the antependium was executed by a less proficient hand that belonged to the same school which created the frescoes of S. Juan de Bohí, can scarcely be doubted, although there are some differences due largely to an inferior and countrified artistic ability on the part of the panel-painter. The most tangible analogy is the disjointed and distorted character of the violently active bodies, and both monuments betray, as we have seen, the same revelling in gruesome details of martyrdom. But the forms themselves are similar in their elongation and even in the curious rendering of the folds of drapery over the abdomen. The date is probably not subsequent to that of the frescoes, which we have assigned to the first quarter of the twelfth century, and, in so far as the greater rudeness is not caused by mere provincial craftsmanship, might be somewhat earlier. The degree of technical knowledge appears to be about that of the Montgrony frontal; but, in the absence of chronological inscriptions or documents, there is always room for the theory

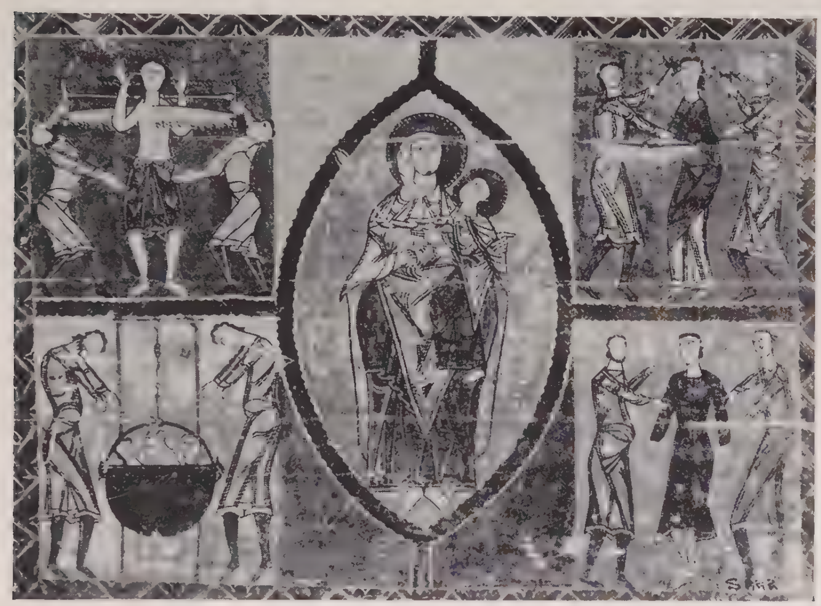

Fig. 56. FRONTAL OF STS. JULITTA AND QUIRICUS.
MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

that the apparently primitive traits are a belated survival, occasioned by the remoteness of the district in which the painter was working, and that the antependium of Sts. Julitta and Quiricus was in reality not created before the last years of the twelfth century.

The frontal of St. Andrew, No. 1615 of the Museum at Vich, coming from Sagás (also spelt Sagárs), northwest of Vich, just off the road to Berga, possesses greater artistic merit and should certainly be assigned, by reason of its comparatively developed technical capacity, to no earlier a moment than the end of the twelfth century.[1] It exhibits, furthermore, certain analogies to the frontals of St. Lawrence and St. Margaret. The two painted pieces that closed in this altar at the sides and were thus in a way lateral continuations of the frontal are fortunately preserved in the Episcopal Museum at Solsona. The central compartment of the antependium (Fig. 57) contains the Pantocrator in a mandorla, surrounded, in the spandrels, by the Evangelistic symbols in the anthropomorphic form so rare in Catalonia, though found on the triumphal arch of Sta. María de Tahull, but so common in the Beatus manuscripts of western Spain. The lateral sections of the frontal are divided into two zones, so that there are four compartments, with scenes from the life of St. Andrew. The side-pieces (Figs. 58 and 59), which have been slightly mutilated, likewise consist of two zones of narrative: the upper zone of each is subdivided into several episodes, but the lower zone largely consists of a single long scene. One of the side-pieces exhibits episodes from the Infancy of Christ, in the upper zone the Annunciation (in part), the Visitation, and (both in one compartment) the Nativity and the Dream of St. Joseph, and in the lower zone the story of the Epiphany distributed over a large part of the space but divided into compartments, so that the Virgin and one Wise Man are separated by a partition from the two other Wise Men, and these in turn from a fragment of what may have been the audience of the Magi with Herod or the Massacre of the Innocents. The Adoration of the Kings is depicted in the usual Catalan Romanesque way, with the Virgin and Child baldly facing the spectator rather than the Wise Men. The upper zone of the other side-

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[1] Professor Cook refuses to date it earlier than 1200.

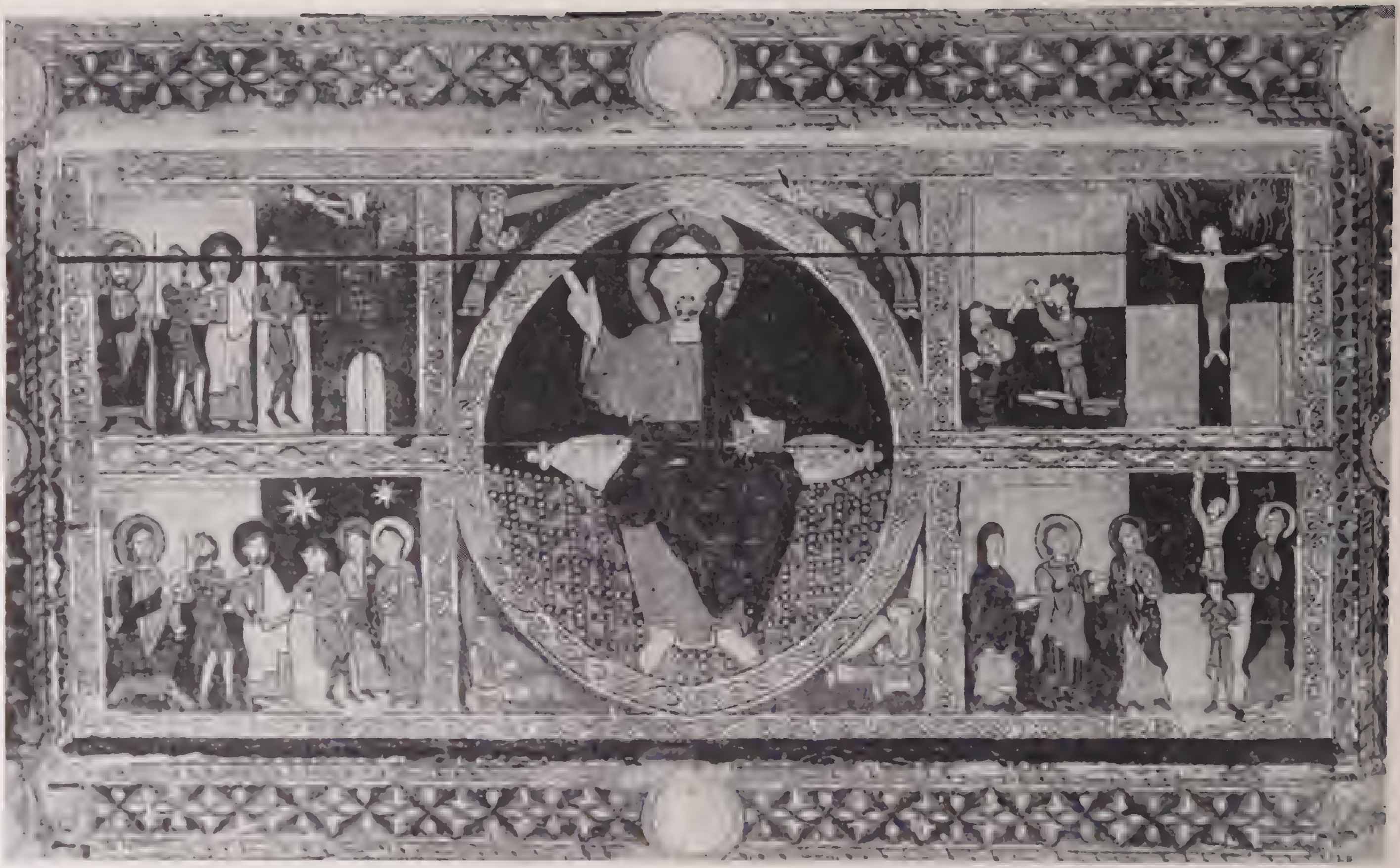

Fig. 57. FRONTAL OF ST. ANDREW FROM SAGÁS. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

piece displays at the right, in a single compartment, the Betrayal and Deposition, and as a logical pendant to these episodes of our redemption, in the other compartment at the left, the fall of man in the sin of Adam and Eve; the lower zone is devoted to an undivided representation of the Entry into Jerusalem. Professor Cook believes that the bit of an object that remains at the right, beyond the group who welcome Our Lord to Jerusalem, may be a piece of an angel's wing, and that, therefore, the section that has been lost may have represented the angel delivering the Resurrection message to the holy women. But the wing would have been too large for any angel on a scale with the other figures, and one would expect at this point, between the Entry and Betrayal, either the Agony in the Garden, so that the object might be a conventionalized rock, or the Last Supper, in which case it might be a piece of interior furniture.

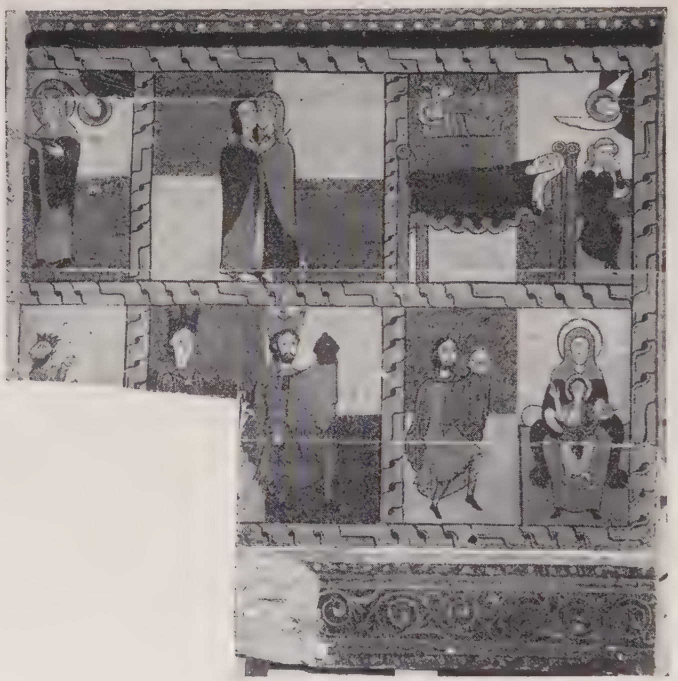

Fig. 58. SIDE-PIECE FROM ALTAR OF SAGÁS.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, SOLSONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Professor Cook's surmise that the end of an object in the upper zone next to the Deposition is a piece of the sepulchre of a lost Entombment carries more conviction; and, maintaining his interpretation of the lower scene as the Resurrection, he ingeniously elucidates the curious iconographic juxtapositions by supposing that the artist had in mind those contemporary Crucifixes in which small scenes from the Passion were grouped about the large form on the cross. Since the order of these scenes proceeded upward at the left and downward at the right, the Entry would have been under the Deposition at the left and the Resurrection under the Entombment at the right. No such Crucifixes have yet been found in Catalonia, but there is no reason that there should not have been Catalan counterparts to the Italian examples. The absence of the Crucifixion itself in the Spanish panels would thus be explained as an omission

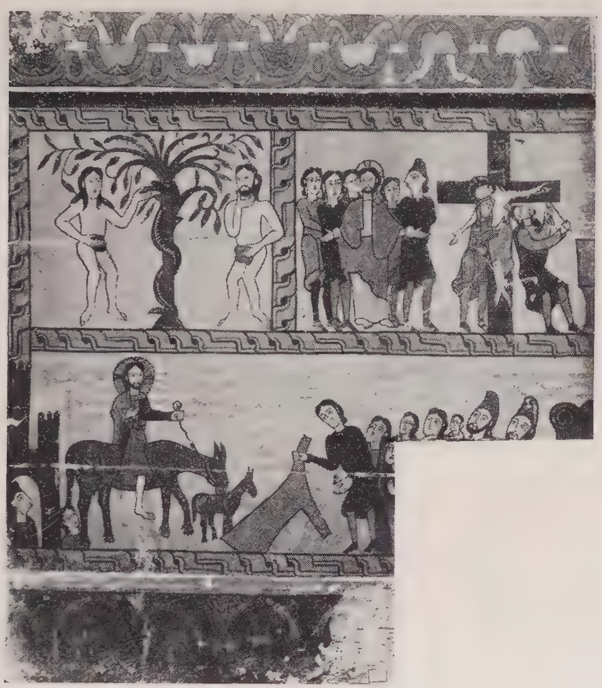

Fig. 59. SIDE-PIECE FROM ALTAR OF SAGÁS. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, SOLSONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

of the large central theme. The unity of interests between mural and panel paintings in Catalonia is exhibited by very much the same subjects and arrangement as at Sagás in the frescoes of the principal apse of Barbará: in the upper zone of narrative, episodes from the Infancy; the whole lower zone assigned to the Epiphany and Entry into Jerusalem; and, remaining on the triumphal arch, the sin of Adam and Eve.

In the antependium and in the side-piece with scenes of the Infancy, the ordinary vibration of red and yellow from one compartment to another is multiplied by breaking the background of each narrative compartment into four small squares, alternately of red and yellow, with the effect of a checker-board, a peculiarity sometimes encountered in the Beatus manuscripts of western Spain and approximated in the setting to the Saviour's nimbus at Fenouillar. The monotony that would be naturally created by this design is skilfully relieved in the compartment of St. Andrew's martyrdom through subdividing the lower right yellow checker by the bottom of his cross, and in the compartment of his arrest, again in the lower right checker, even more decisively by hiding almost all the yellow with the bottom of the dungeon. For some strange reason, the backgrounds of the side-piece with scenes from the Passion are all of them uniformly mere expanses of brownish red, alleviated only by a design of alternating straight and wavy lines close to the borders of each compartment, perhaps a petrified convention for suggesting architecture, which appears even in the checkers of the frontal itself and is found also in Catalan manuscripts. The scheme of alternating colors is carried into other sections than the backgrounds: for instance, in the Visitation, the effect of checkering is created on the two embracing women by giving one of them an orange tunic and green mantle and the other a green tunic and orange mantle. It seems as if the master had wished to be ostentatious of the versatility of his invention, for he lavishes a different decorative *motif* on the principal molding of the frames of the antependium and of each of the side-pieces, although the edging of a spiral rope is in all cases the same. The inner border, the band of the mandorla, and the partitions in the frontal itself consist of delicate reliefs in stucco. Although the flesh is yellow, the tonality of all three panels is not identical with that of the first group of antependia because of the deepness of the brick red and because of the introduction of a dark green, as in the mandorla. The general mood is one of decorative conventionalization, exemplified, for instance, in the Visitation, by the formal disposition of the blocks of color on the garments and by the exact symmetry of the composition, even to the arrangement of the hands and fingers; but the draperies are not elaborately schematized as in the group of highly stylized antependia, unless the summarily indicated geometric figures on the hips of some of the masculine personages are to be taken as a mild aspect of such schematization. The tendency, however, to a colloquial visualization of the scenes is here developed further even than in the frontals of St. Lawrence and St. Margaret, and the mere similarity of composition and figures in the compartments of the saint's arrest and trial does not justify Professor Cook in stigmatizing the artist as imaginatively jejune. Examples of this colloquialism in the antependium of St. Andrew and the side-pieces have already been indicated in the general discussion of Romanesque naturalism, and particular stress has been laid upon the several, very pronounced illustrations of the queer, beak-like countenances that stand for wicked or low-born persons. The narrative compartments afford one of the best instances of the agreeable simplicity that the painters of the Catalan panels attained by telling their stories with a reduced number of actors. The most delightful examples and the parts of the narrative that appear to be depicted with true feeling are the Visitation, Birth, and Deposition.

5. The Conservative Frontals of the Thirteenth Century

Of the frontals of the thirteenth century that are still essentially Romanesque and have not adopted to any considerable degree the new French Gothic style, we may group together first those that are more closely related to the achievements of the previous hundred years. The antependium of Our Lady, No. 7 of the Museum at Vich (Fig. 60), possesses so much of the archaic that it has often been dated in the twelfth century and can scarcely have been produced after the first years of the thirteenth. It presents us with the least drastic of the compositional modifications that took place in the later frontals, the upper left lateral compartment being assigned to the three Magi adoring the larger Madonna and Child in the central mandorla and the connection between the two sections being made tangible by the huge star that unites them in the upper left spandrel of the mandorla. The whole upper right compartment is devoted to the Entry into Jerusalem providing another instance of the curious juxtaposition of this episode with the Epiphany which is illustrated also by the frescoes of Barbará and the side-pieces of the altar of St. Andrew and for which there must have been some definite reason. Was it that both episodes were witnesses to the royalty of the Messiah? In any case the lower lateral sections contain six Prophets of His coming. A separate arch harbors each of the Wise Men and of the six Prophets, but with an odd violation of symmetry the arcading is abandoned for the Entry into Jerusalem. A further departure from the norm of the twelfth century is the failure to mark off by a frame a definite central compartment to contain the mandorla. The star in the upper left spandrel and the two angels supporting the mandorla in the lower spandrels (of whom only vestiges remain) do serve to create a certain separation from the series of Magi and Prophets, but the composition for the Entry is continued to the very border of the mandorla and over the upper right spandrel. The Virgin wears almost exactly the same white wimple as in the frescoes of S. Clemente de Tahull, yet only a lapse of seventy-five years could explain the more proficient knowledge and greater ease of execution exhibited in her figure and in that of the Child in the antependium. The most retrogressive element in the frontal is perhaps the unconvincing representation of the posture of the foremost King, as he falls upon his knees, but the expansion, in places, of the ordinary lines of Romanesque delineation into streaks of color denotes an embryonic effort at modelling in light and shade that signifies the approach of a new artistic period. The Gothic spirit is also incipiently present in the sprightliness of activity with which the spectators watch from the town of Jerusalem the approach of the Saviour or throw

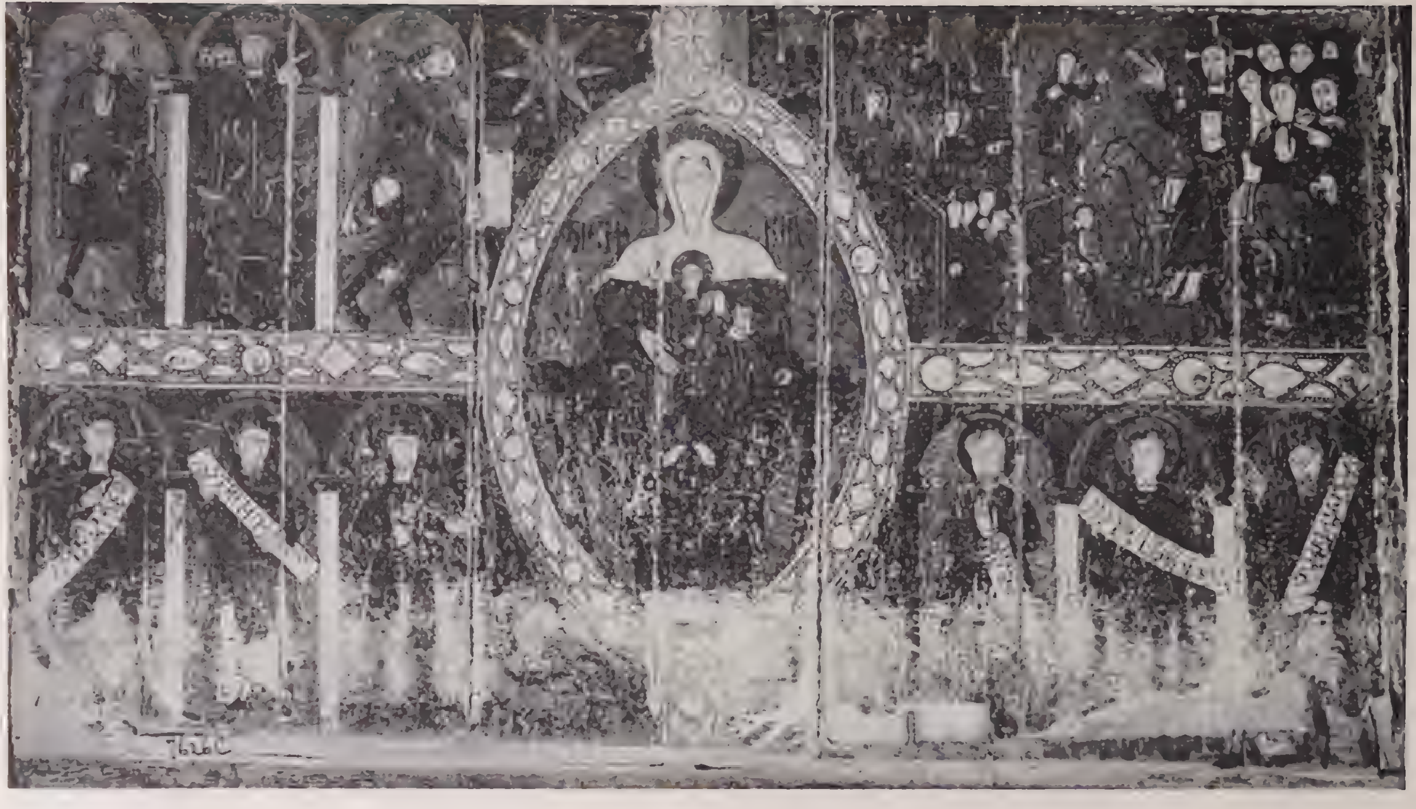

Fig. 60. FRONTAL OF THE VIRGIN, NO. 7 OF THE MUSEUM AT VICH

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

open the gates to meet Him. The later date is likewise indicated by the fact that the scheme of color is even further removed from the red and yellow tonality of the early frontals than in the antependium of St. Margaret. The flesh is white, not yellow, and a lovely blue is much used throughout the frontal, for instance on the Virgin's mantle and on the hose of the first Magus. As in the perhaps contemporary antependium, No. 3 of the Museum at Vich, a design of dots is often employed on the garments, in this case in groups of four. Those who have mentioned the frontal under discussion in the present paragraph have alluded to the unusually beautiful preservation of the color in certain passages, and Miss Richert rightly compares the tonality to that of work in enamel, since it is evident that the master has sought to reproduce in paint the polychrome effects of antependia in this more precious medium.

To the hand of this artist Professor Cook assigns a fragment of a second frontal of St. Lawrence, No. 49 of the Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona, the provenience of which is stated in the Catalogue to be the Catalan Pyrenees.[1] The masculine types are similar, but too little of the panel is preserved and the color-scheme is too different to make the attribution anything but hypothetical. In any case it may well find its place here because it is a continuation of the manner of the twelfth century. What is now left to us comprises: the middle section of the Pantocrator's body in the central compartment but, according to an innovation of the thirteenth century, not enclosed in a mandorla; considerable pieces of two lateral compartments representing the martyrdom of St. Lawrence; and lower rims of two other episodes from his life. The tonality is still pretty largely the vibration of red and yellow so frequently encountered in the twelfth century. In the scenes of torture, for instance, the backgrounds are red, and against this are relieved the yellow-clad forms of the executioners. The background of the Pantocrator, however, is a dark green, probably representing an original blue, diapered with stars. The executioners are the ugly, long-nosed types chosen for such actors in the twelfth century, but the later date of this antependium is proclaimed by the more naturalistic rendering of their faces and by the more careful and proficient workmanship that marks the whole panel.

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[1] Professor Cook quotes Pijoán as saying that it was bought from a dealer at Vich and supposes that it was originally in a church of that city.

To this group, which is reminiscent of the style of the twelfth century, may be assigned two antependia in the same Museum that have been classified together by Folch as at least the production of one atelier if not of one master. One of these, coming from the church of Vila in the parish of Encamp in Andorra and actually dated by Folch in the twelfth century, has the interest of preserving the side-pieces still attached to it (Fig. 61). In the central compartment it displays the Pantocrator in a mandorla, with the signs of the Evangelists, and in the four lateral compartments pairs of Apostles. In the side-pieces the figures

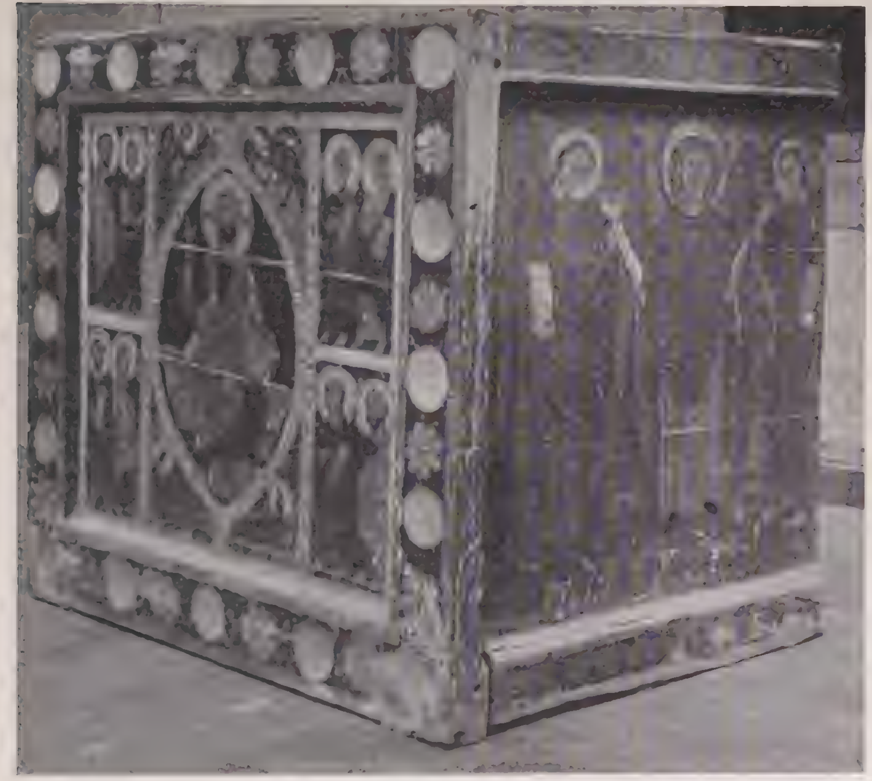

Fig. 61. FRONTAL AND SIDE-PIECE FROM ENCAMP.
MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

are on larger scale, filling the whole space from top to bottom. The left panel marshals three more Apostles (?), in addition to the eight of the frontal, and the right panel contains a simple composition of the Assumption, the Virgin on a cloud with her outspread arms supported on either side by two angels of the same size as she herself. All the Apostles, as already in the frescoes of S. Miguel de la Seo, are apparently conceived to be walking. The delineation of the countenances and the mechanical character of the postures and gestures are an inheritance, not much ameliorated, from the twelfth century, but the draperies belong to the thirteenth century and are affected by the Byzantinism that is more pronounced in another group of frontals of this period.

If we date the Encamp panels in the early years of the century, we must place somewhat later, because of its diminished rudeness and augmented sophistication, the other antependium of the workshop, coming from Feneras. The subjects are the same as those of the Encamp example, the Pantocrator and Evangelistic signs in the centre and the Apostles at the sides, except that the frontal itself displays all twelve Apostles in the four lateral compartments, each under an arch. The side-pieces are not preserved. The parallelisms to the Encamp antependium are not confined to general style, but extend to such details as the tonality, the composition of Christ's drapery, the mode of representing the symbols of the Evangelists, and the *motifs* on the frame of the sides of the Encamp altar and on that of the Feneras frontal; but the types are less archaic and are perhaps already affected by Gothic miniatures. The backgrounds of both antependia partially preserve the old alternation of red and yellow.

A frontal of Christ, the Evangelistic symbols, and the twelve Apostles in the Gualino Collection at Turin (Fig. 62) retains decided Romanesque reminiscences in forms and draperies, including even several instances of the "Languedoc fold" at the lower borders of the garments, but it presents these traits with a competence and sophistication of technique that bespeak the thirteenth century. No purely Byzantine characteristics, however, reveal themselves to justify us in deriving the superior craft from direct contact with east-Christian art or in classifying the panel with the Byzantine group of Catalan antependia. The eyes of the Apostles are already, as in the Valltarga frontal, cast coquettishly to the side according to the early Gothic fashion, but the central Pantocrator still strongly suggests the stern and majestic form in the middle of a fresco of a twelfth century apse. All moldings, the arches that enshrine the Apostles, and the columns that divide them are elaborately embossed, and it is only the rendering of the figures in paint against alternating red and yellow backgrounds that distinguishes the work from the sculptured examples in stucco.

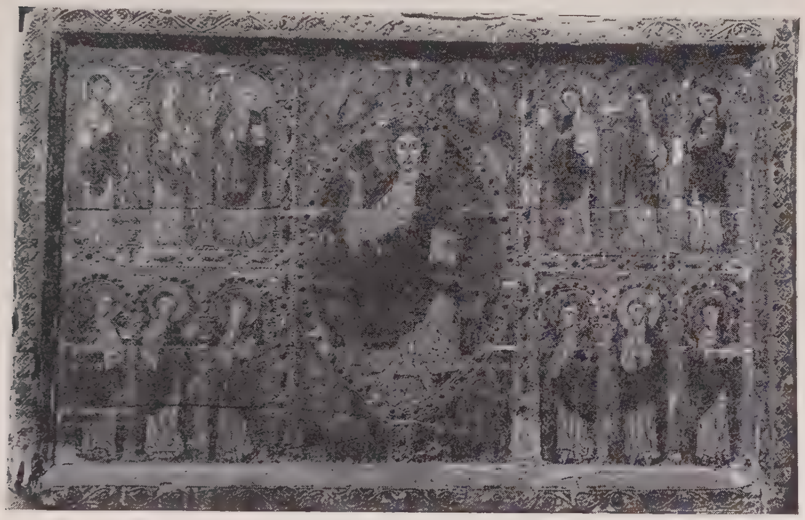

Fig. 62. FRONTAL. GUALINO COLLECTION, TURIN

(Courtesy of Mr. Lionello Venturi)

The antependium now hung on a wall of the cathedral of Perpignan, though possibly produced as late as the fourteenth century, is much more tangibly a throw-back to the style of the Romanesque frescoes (Fig. 63). Throughout there is an attempt, so far as lay within the capabilities of the craftsman's somewhat provincial hand, to bring down into the limits of a humble panel the monumentality and majesty of the mural paintings. The themes selected for representation are frequent enough in the antependia, but it is significant that they are also commonplaces of the frescoes. For the central compartment is again chosen the subject of the Pantocrator in the mandorla, with the Evangelistic signs. The mural zone of the Apostles is consigned to the lateral spaces, three of the college to each of the four compartments; but the individuals of each group of three are not separated from one another by columns as in the Feneras and Gualino frontals but only (in certain, not all,[1] instances) by the old device of a variation from a red to a yellow background as in the St. Lawrence frontal at Vich. The inner molding of the frame, the borders of the compartments, the mandorla, and Our Lord's halo are embossed. It is the rather powerfully drawn central Christ that recalls most unmistakably the old frescoes. He is at the same time the most successfully archaistic figure, and His drapery is an imitation of a moderately high degree of Romanesque stylization. The Apostles likewise have more mural monumentality than one expects in the reduced compass of panel painting, but their delineation sinks in places to an almost clownish slovenliness. They look like provincial descendants of the Apostles of S. Miguel de la Seo, but the drapery, postures, and types reveal traits that are hardly consonant with a date prior to the end of the thirteenth cen-

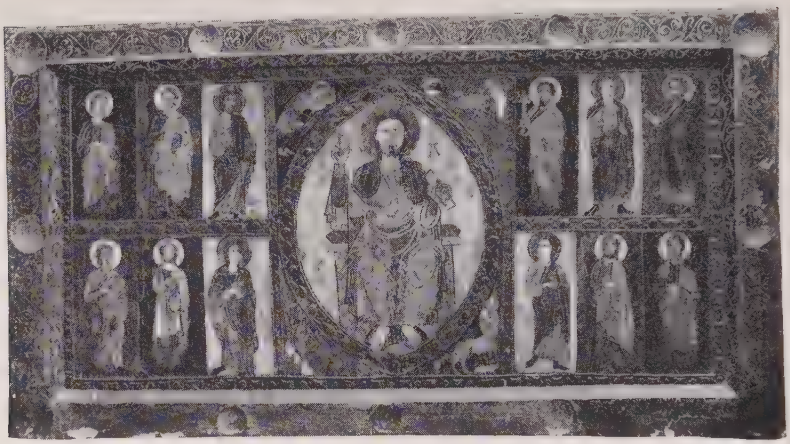

Fig. 63. FRONTAL. CATHEDRAL, PERPIGNAN

(Photo. Giraudon)

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[1] It may be that the juxtaposition, in some cases, of two red backgrounds is due to the repainting, of which there is other possible evidence.

tury. The pose of the head of the first Apostle in the lower right compartment is particularly conscious and too sentimental to admit an earlier chronological emplacement. A possible retouching may partially but not completely explain the later aspects of the work. The archaism of the painter is quite intelligible, if we suppose that he was bred in some remote district that had little contact with the progress of the great artistic centres.

The frontal of St. Hilary in the Museum at Vich may be considered in this retrospective group because it displays draperies that are remotely similar to those of the antependium of St. Margaret. The folds undulate in curves in the same way but are not so far stylized and possess a Gothic fluidity that already suggests the fourteenth century. The date is probably rather late in the thirteenth century, but the panel conserves many archaic qualities, especially a certain rigidity in the figures themselves and the dead Romanesque stare of the Virgin and Child. The central compartment abandons the mandorla and presents the enthroned Madonna under a segmental arch the spandrels of which are filled by a representation of miniature towers. The archangels Gabriel and Raphael, identified by inscriptions, hold behind her a tapestry. The upper left lateral compartment depicts St. Hilary as receiving the cruet for mixing the chalice or as making the ablutions at mass; in the three other lateral compartments are pairs of conversing Apostles, St. Peter recognizable in the upper right division by the key. The outer border of the frame still contains the concave disks in imitation of the antependia of metal and enamel. The late date is confirmed by many details, such as the form of St. Hilary's mitre and the beginning of some indication of shadow. Among the factors that look backward are the close swathing of the Virgin's head in drapery, as in the apse of Sta. María de Tahull, and especially the yellowish tone of the flesh and the omnipresent alternation of red and yellow, intruding even into the haloes.

The frontal of St. Hilary has something of the ponderous character of the provinces which appears in a much less unalleviated form in the antependium still on the high altar of the church of S. Esteban at Guils (near Puigcerdá). The central compartment is devoted to the Pantocrator in a mandorla

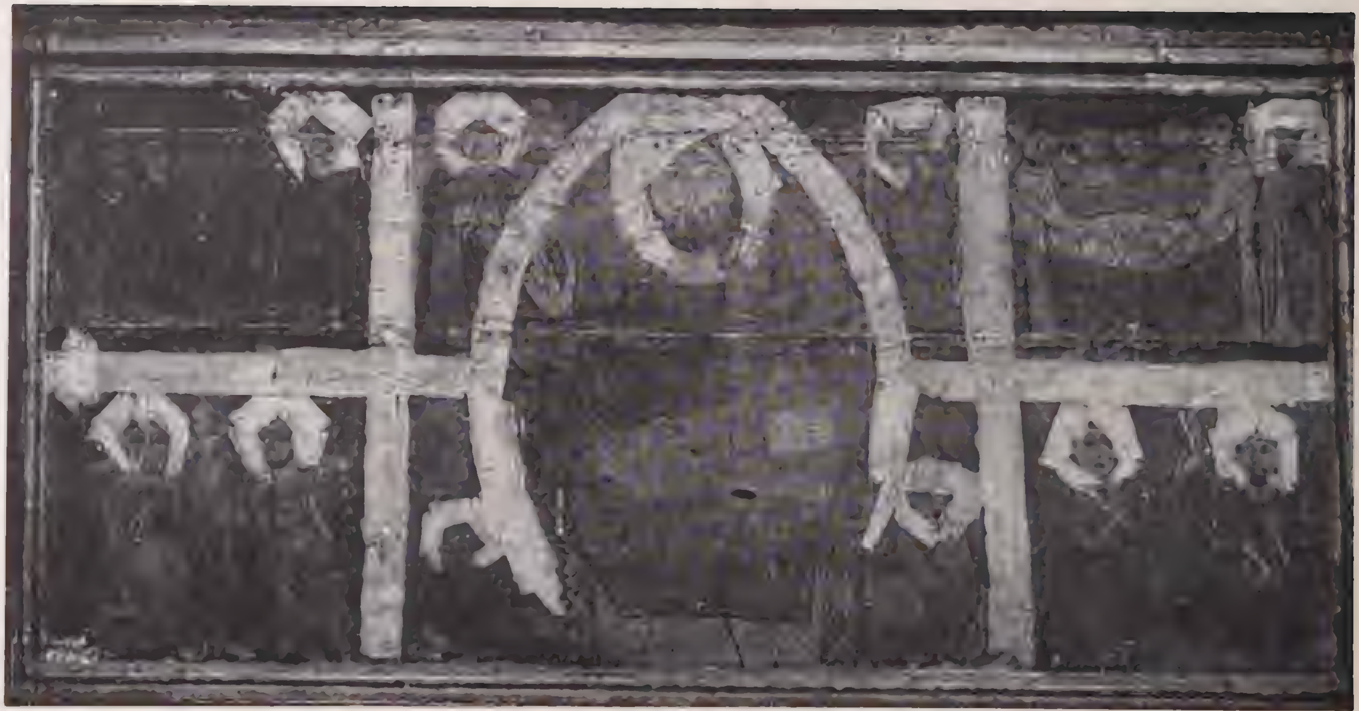

Fig. 64. FRONTAL. S. ESTEBAN, GUILS

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

surrounded by the Evangelistic symbols (Fig. 64). The two upper lateral compartments are assigned to the stoning and burial or invention of St. Stephen; the pairs of seated, gesticulating figures in the two lower lateral compartments are probably Apostles. The technical method and the forms are late, countrified survivals of the Romanesque; the draperies appear to be influenced by the Byzantine movement of the thirteenth century in Catalonia. The background is everywhere of solid red. The original frame and outer decorative borders have been lost. The date might be even, as in the case of the St. Hilary frontal, the early fourteenth century. The panel is the creation of a rural plodder, whose lack of inspiration is betrayed especially in the dull compositions for the stoning and burial of St. Stephen, and whose technical helplessness is illustrated by the frequently excessive size of the heads and by the whole disproportionately large body of St. Stephen in the scene of the martyrdom. The unhappy effect of the antependium is accentuated by the bareness of the dividing borders that remain and of the haloes, which some vandal has stripped of their gold or which consisted originally of mere yellow paint that has now faded.

We still find largely Romanesque drawing and types in the frontal of St. Vincent from the Ermita de la Virgen del Monte at Liesa near Huesca in Aragon and now in the house of the parish-priest of the town[1]; but the craftsmanship is better than at Guils and not weighed down by such heaviness of form. The panel has no central figure but simply twelve compartments disposed in three zones, relating the story of the saint with much gusto and naïve charm (Fig. 65). Especially appealing is the episode of the ringing of the bells on the miraculous arrival of the body at Lisbon. The second and third compartments of the topmost zone contain examples of the caricatured Catalan type. The background was originally gilt, bits of which remain. Since the gold was incised with an unpretentious pattern of lozenges, the background was similar to that of the antependium of St. Cecilia from Bolvir, which will be discussed subsequently, except that in the latter instance the design is of checkers and slightly embossed. The Liesa background was also of the kind employed in certain Gothic frontals. The date is perhaps somewhat after the middle of the thirteenth century.

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[1] At least it was seen there by me in the early summer of 1926.

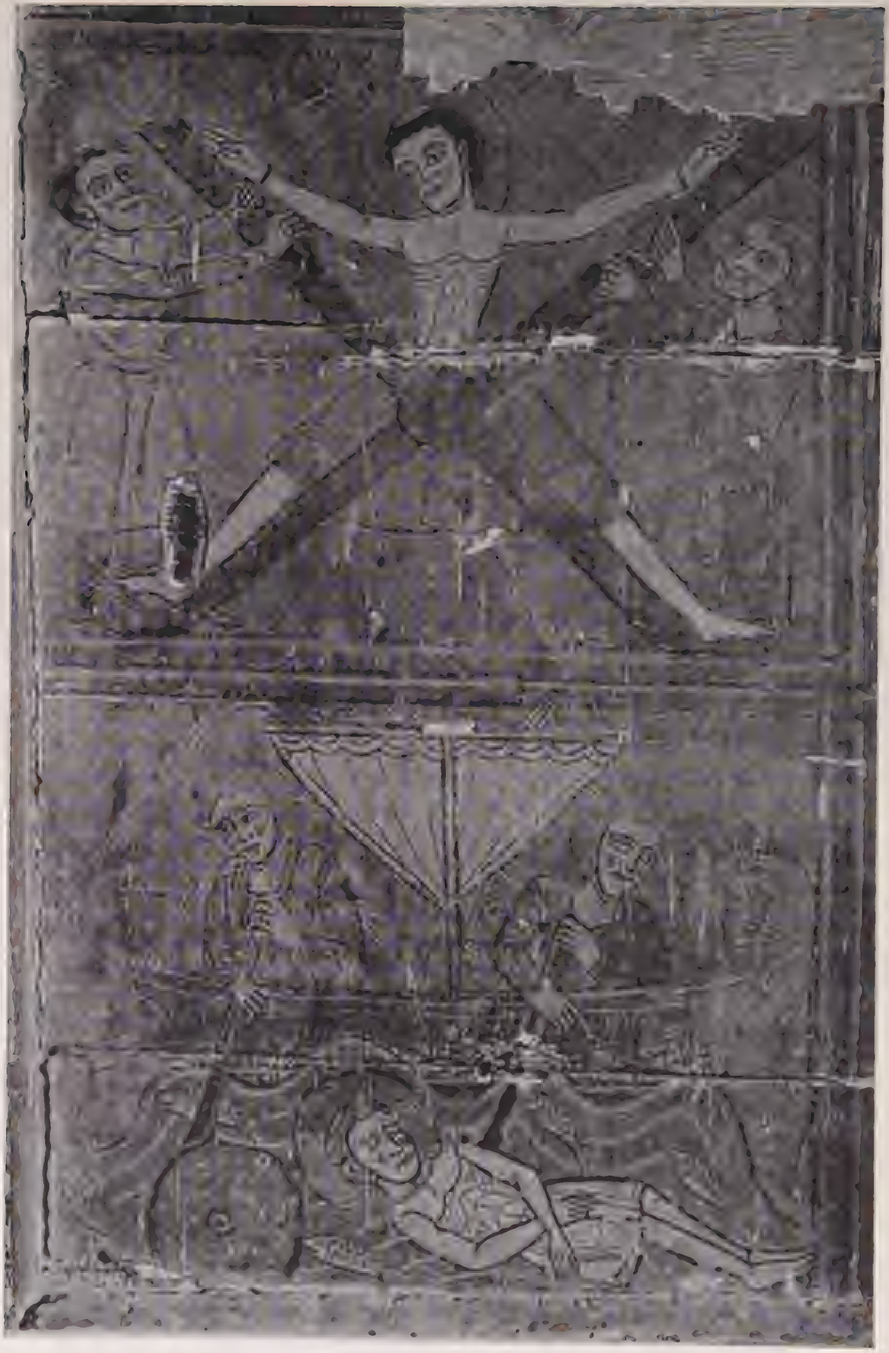

Fig. 65. THE TORTURE OF ST. VINCENT AND THE CASTING OF HIS BODY INTO THE SEA, SECTION OF FRONTAL AT LIESA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

6. The Frontals of the Thirteenth Century under Byzantine Influence

In marking off a second group of Romanesque antependia of the thirteenth century, we may follow Miss Richert in classifying together several panels that reveal a greater delicacy of draughtsmanship and a larger emancipation from the cramping qualities of the primitive than the frontals of the twelfth century or those of a later period that have just been discussed as reminiscent of earlier achievement. She seems to be right also in tracing the technical amelioration to the increased Byzantine influence in Catalonia in the first half of the thirteenth century that we have already noted in the frescoes. Although other strains may also be discerned, the forms and draperies certainly suggest a new, direct indebtedness to the art of Constantinople in the Second Golden Age. Not only does the general design of the drapery point to Byzantium, but also the minuteness and multiplication of the folds, as compared to those of the earlier frontals, and the emphasized nicety of their delineation. The closer approximation to nature and the augmented freedom of pose, however, can scarcely be due to contact with Byzantium and are probably occasioned by some knowledge of the freshness of French Gothic sculpture and illumination. The forms, furthermore, begin to have a slight effect as of existence in three dimensions, in contrast to the flatness of the twelfth century. It is perfectly possible that this more proficient style existed synchronously with the more retrogressive tendencies embodied in the group of frontals of which No. 7 of the Museum of Vich is the chief specimen; but in order to allow some time for the dissemination of French Gothic influence, we should perhaps do better to place the Byzantinized antependia at least as late as the beginning of the second quarter of the thirteenth century. In all of them the red and yellow vibration is almost completely renounced.

In No. 4 of the Museum at Vich (Fig. 66), all the characteristics of the group begin to manifest themselves. With the compositional latitude of the thirteenth century, an inordinately large space is allotted to the central compartment, and the glory of the (partially obliterated) Madonna assumes a quatre-

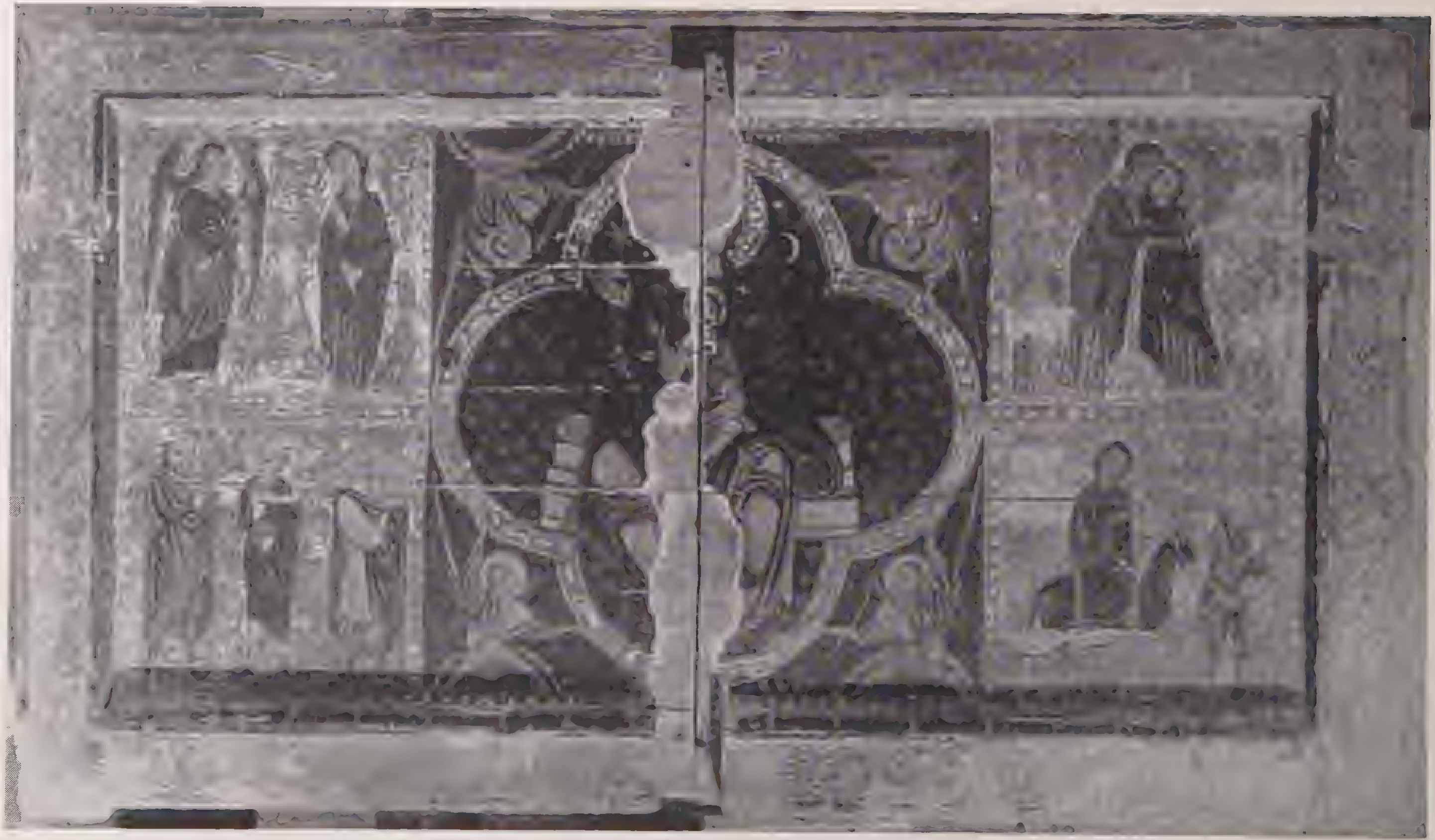

Fig. 66. FRONTAL OF THE VIRGIN, NO. 4 OF THE MUSEUM AT VICH

(*Photo. Thomas*)

foil shape, supported by four rather Byzantine-looking angels. That the already mentioned pattern of scrolls in her lower draperies is meant to be not a schematization of the folds but probably a mere part of the fabric is demonstrated by the fact that the expanse of cloth in these spots is perfectly smooth. It is possible, however, that the scrolls are conceived only as superficial decorative flourishes without regard either to the fabric or the folds, or that they are an unintelligent copying of the mannerisms of such earlier frontals as that of St. Lawrence at Vich. The four lateral compartments contain the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Flight into Egypt, and (at the lower left) the three Magi coming to adore, according to the scheme of the thirteenth century, the large central Madonna and Child. The French influence is probably the origin of the desire for prettier, blander faces, as in the Virgin of the Annunciation and Flight into Egypt.[1]

Undoubtedly from the same atelier and the same moment, although perhaps by a somewhat ruder hand in the atelier, comes a small antependium in the Plandiura Collection, Barcelona, with no central compartment and consisting only of four subdivisions with scenes from the activity of St. Michael and other archangels (Fig. 67). The panel has the additional interest of having been found in Navarre at Eguillor (near Ollo, west of Pamplona), wherever the Catalan shop existed that created it. The episodes represented are: Sts. Raphael and Gabriel holding between them a redeemed soul; the fight of St. Michael with the dragon; St. Michael and Satan weighing a soul; and the legend so frequent in Spanish mediaeval art, the servant slain by his own arrow which he had directed against St. Michael's bull on Monte Gargano in Apulia. The drapery of St. Michael mounted on the dragon is almost identical with that of the angel of the Annunciation in the Vich frontal; the facial types of the archangels are like that of this angel at Vich; their hair spreads out in pert little tresses at the neck as in the angels of the spandrels of the central compartment at Vich; they all have the curious lanky wings bent at the same angles, as on the angel of the Annunciation; the *motif* of a foliate spiral on the broad outer border of the frame is analogous, and even

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[1] For the probable side-pieces of this antependium, see p. 286.

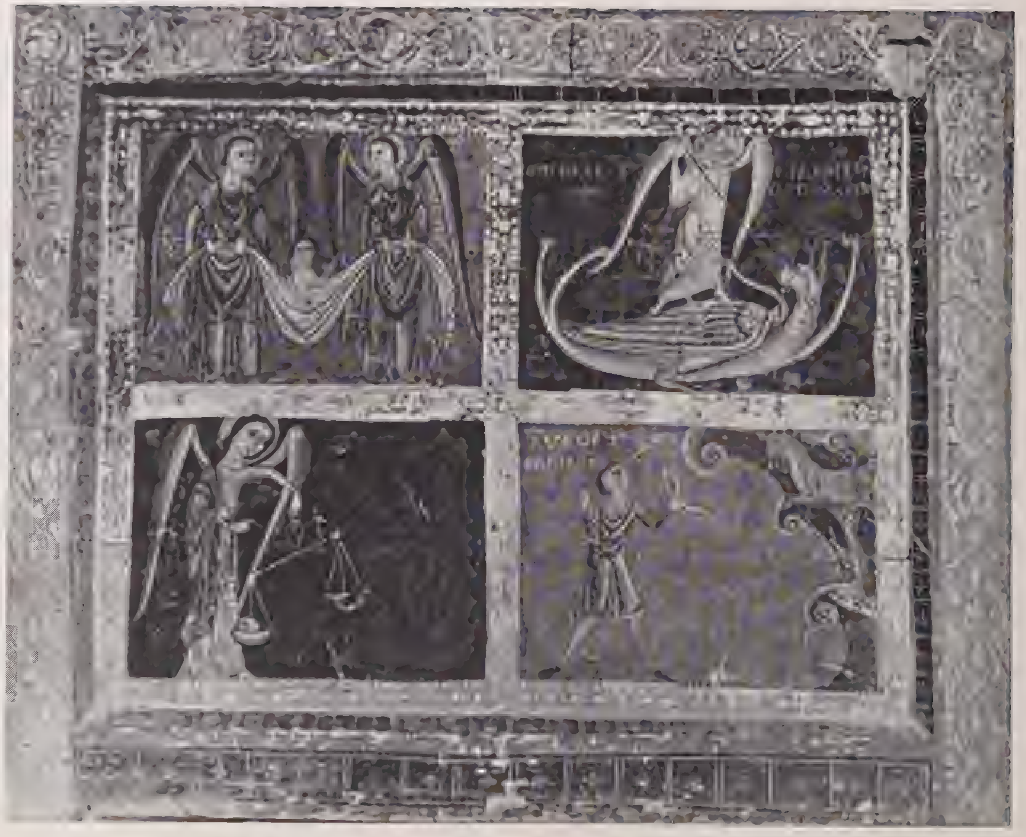

Fig. 67. FRONTAL OF ST. MICHAEL. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(*Photo. Serra*)

the next narrower, inner border is adorned with the same simple design of paired vertical lines repeated at intervals. The backgrounds of the Eguillor frontal are alternately blue and red. The edges of the rock upon which the bull lies are stylized into scrolls. The dragon is one of those monsters of splendidly imaginative grotesqueness in which the Romanesque artists excelled.

The analogies of the antependium honoring St. Saturninus of Toulouse (St. Sernin), No. 6 of the Museum at Vich, to these two works are such that it also might conceivably have been created by the same atelier, though the increase in freedom and in other Gothic qualities would indicate that it was a later production of the shop. It is particularly in the treatment of the drapery that the similarity is again strikingly close. The frame has a like *motif* of foliate scrolls, but is adorned also with concave disks that are lacking in the other two panels. The frontal of St. Saturninus, however, returns to the strict compositional formula of the twelfth century. The central compartment displays the Pantocrator in a mandorla, with the Evangelistic symbols in the spandrels, and the four lateral compartments contain sadly shattered scenes from the life of the saint. The painter, indeed, seems to have reverted consciously to a Romanesque severity and aloofness in the countenance of Christ.

The antependium in the Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona from Sta. María at Aviá (Fig. 68) is parallel in theme and somewhat similar in execution to No. 4 of the Museum at Vich, but the French Gothic influence has advanced further to make the countenances more smoothly fair, to impress a slight Gothic character upon the fundamentally Byzantine types, as especially in the three Wise Men, to render the forms more naturalistic, to infuse some vivacity into the staidness of the Romanesque tradition, as in the active Child of the central compartment who breaks with the convention of frontality, and to assign Gothic foliate capitals to the columns of this compartment. The workshop can hardly be the same, and the date may well be as late as the middle of the thirteenth century; but, since the style of Gothic miniatures is not definitely adopted but only hinted at here and there, the panel may be included in the Romanesque section of this book. Folch has suggested that

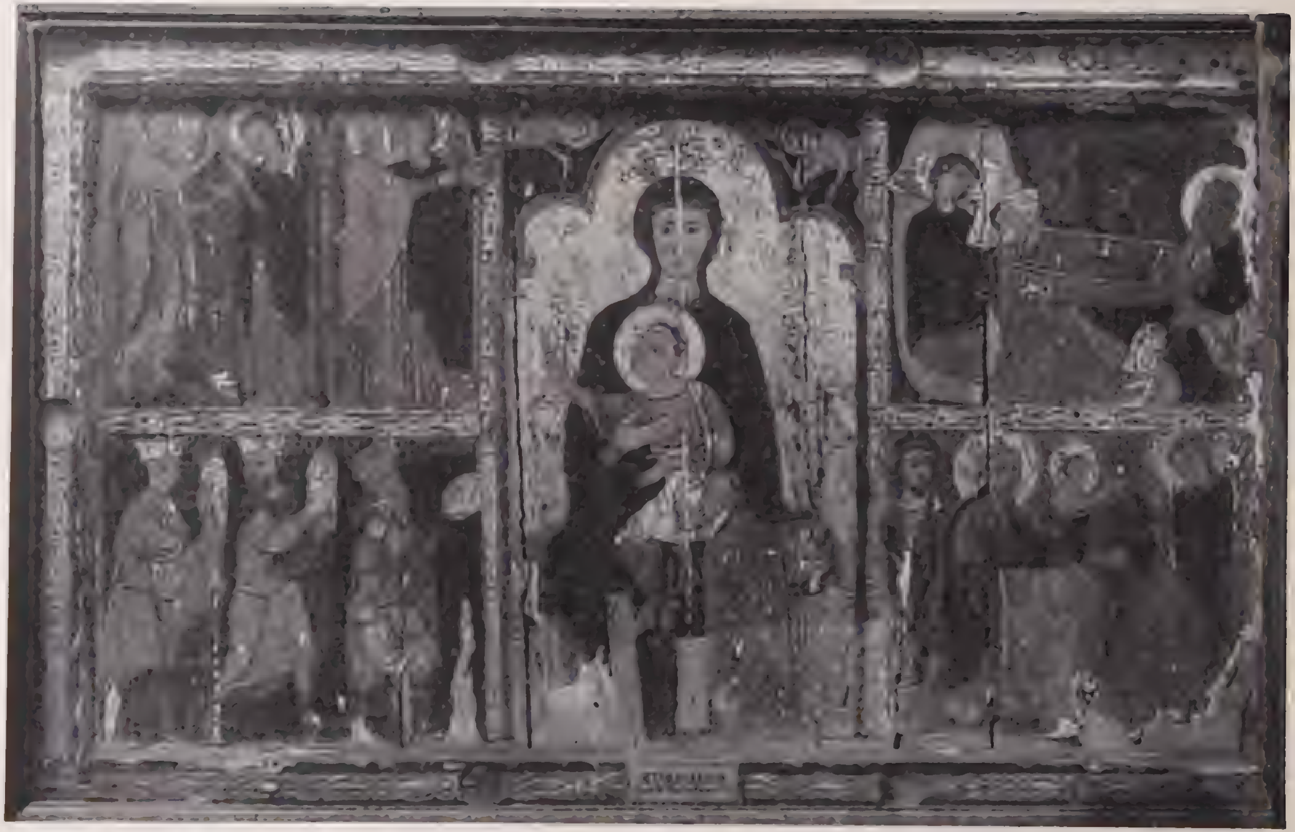

Fig. 68. FRONTAL OF AVIÁ. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

it may have been a retable rather than a frontal. The mandorla is not employed in the central compartment, but instead, as in the series of frontals with backgrounds of raised stucco, the Madonna sits under a polylobed arch. Whereas, however, the form of the arch in the stucco antependia implies a derivation from Moorish sources, the different shape of the Aviá specimen is more like that of Gothic trefoils, to which the capitals would correspond. The spandrels harbor two adoring angels. Into the upper left lateral compartment are compressed, in arcades, both the Annunciation and Visitation. The two right lateral compartments contain the Nativity and what is probably the Purification. To the lower left compartment are again assigned the three Magi bringing their gifts to the larger, central holy pair. The Virgin wears, in all the sections where she appears, a blue mantle with a pattern of three white dots (as in No. 3 of the Museum at Vich), except in the Visitation, where the *motif* seems to be a small cross. The painter has experimented throughout the panel in different shades of red. The garments of St. Elizabeth in the Visitation and of Our Lady in the Nativity are adorned in spots with delicate foliate scrolls like those on the Virgin in No. 4 at Vich. On St. Elizabeth they look more like mere superimposed decorative flourishes than patterns in the cloth, and yet the edge of her mantle is embellished with a similar design that seems surely intended as a part of the fabric, so that the impression that one gets from the scrolls in the other sections of her dress may be due to the painter's inability to give the purposed illusion of a brocade.

The most distinguished example of this apparently Byzantine influence in Catalonia and, on the whole, the loveliest of all the Catalan Romanesque panels is the antependium of St. Andrew in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, coming from Valltarga (near Bellver, east of La Seo de Urgel) and dating, probably, from about 1250[1] (Fig. 69). The central compartment contains in a mandorla the Pantocrator and in the spandrels the signs of the Evangelists, characterized by a naturalistic and technical perfection, especially the eagle, which shows us at once that we have to do here not merely with an advanced date in the Romanesque period but also with a real master who

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[1] See below, pp. 283–284.

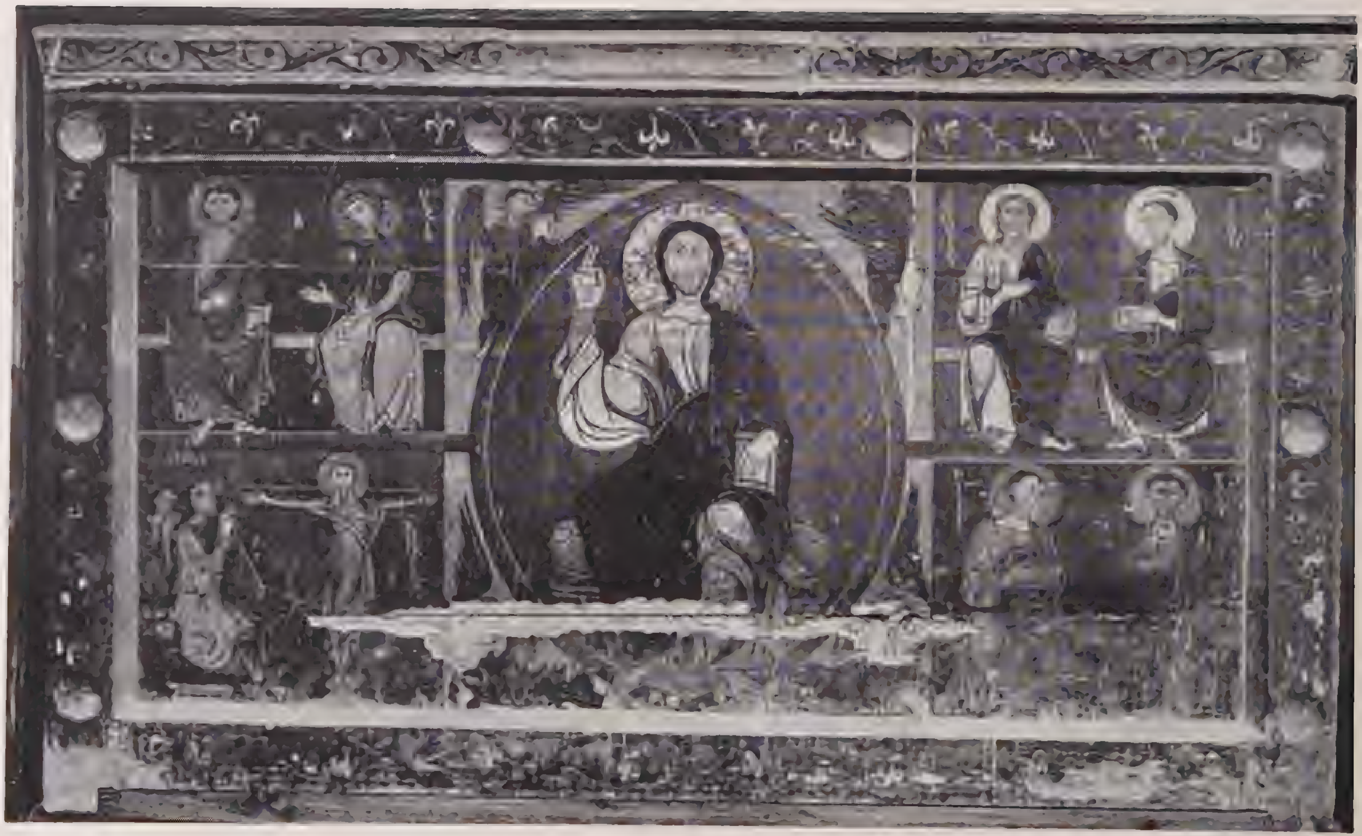

FIG. 69. FRONTAL OF VALLTARGA. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

stands head and shoulders above the majority of his contemporaries. As in the frontal of St. Hilary, only one of the lateral compartments, in this case at the lower left, is consigned to narrative from the life of the saint to whom the antependium is dedicated. A comparison of the scene represented, the crucifixion of St. Andrew, with the rendering of the same theme in the frontal of St. Andrew at Vich will serve to illustrate the true beauty of draughtsmanship which the artist of Valltarga consciously cultivates throughout the panel and which he triumphantly attains. The three other compartments, as again in the antependium of St. Hilary, are occupied by pairs of conversing sacred personages, in this instance seated. The relegation of the Virgin to one of these compartments, the upper left, where her companion is St. John Evangelist, is said by Folch to be unique in Catalan Romanesque iconography, which usually introduces her only when it can give her the more exalted place of honor at the centre. The upper right compartment admits St. Andrew, now as one in the series of Apostles, and St. James (Major?); the lower right, Sts. Philip and Thomas. The embellishment of the frame consists, not of the usual crowded and ostentatious patterns, but of a most delicate *motif* of lilies rather widely spaced and rendered with a loving naturalism that already vies with Gothic imitative skill in the representation of flowers. At intervals the *motif* is interrupted by the customary concave disks. The types are much more Byzantine than in the frontals by the other ateliers of this group, particularly the Virgin, St. John, the seated St. Andrew, and the angel of St. Matthew, and it is to this more intimate acquaintance with the art of Constantinople that we should trace, at least in part, the superior craftsmanship. The propriety, however, of placing the Valltarga antependium in the present group is demonstrated not only by general stylistic parallelisms but by such particular analogies as that between the figure of St. Andrew's judge, Aegeas, and the man at the extreme left in the scene of St. Saturninus refusing to worship an idol in frontal No. 6 of the Museum of Vich. For the more primitive vibration of red and yellow, there is substituted, as in the Plandiura frontal of St. Michael, an alternation of red and blue backgrounds. The red and blue are deeper in tone than in the earlier panels. Against the background of the blue mandorla, moreover, Christ wears a red mantle, accented with the delicate old pattern of three white dots. If the embryonic Gothic influence from the north, which may be discerned in the other frontals of the group, had not here receded in favor of more Byzantinism and if, therefore, a certain freshness of new life were not absent, the successful imitation of Byzantine models and Byzantine nicety would justify calling the maker of this panel a worthy predecessor of Duccio.

7. The Mosoll Frontal

In composition and style, the antependium in the same Museum from Mosoll (near Puigcerdá) stands rather by itself (Fig. 70). It abjures a large central section with a magnified Christ or Virgin for four compartments, each of which is separated into three arches under which take place scenes from the life of the Virgin. The non-chronological order and the division of the scenes are very curious. In the two upper compartments the Epiphany is followed by the Visitation; in the two lower compartments the Purification is directly preceded by the Annunciation and succeeded by a strange composition usually interpreted as Our Lady's death. In the Epiphany, Annunciation, and Purification, every personage enjoys the honor of a separate arch (the Child, of course, with the Mother), but the Visitation and Death are compressed each into one compartment at the extreme right of the upper and lower zones. Thus, the Madonna, St. Joseph, and every one of the mounted Kings are under a separate arch, so that the Epiphany takes up five arches. The Virgin has the frontal position but is not enlarged to a size out of scale as when she occupies in this scene the centre of an antependium. The composition for her death, if this be really what is depicted, seems original, in accord with the general liveliness and expressiveness of the narrative exhibited throughout the frontal. She sinks in a swoon while Our Lord on the other side, followed by one Apostle, points out some lesson to two others who stand above her or is conceived simply as giving a benediction or bidding farewell to His Mother. But the oddity of the representation combines with the enigmatical inscription *Iachobi* above the arch to give one pause in stating

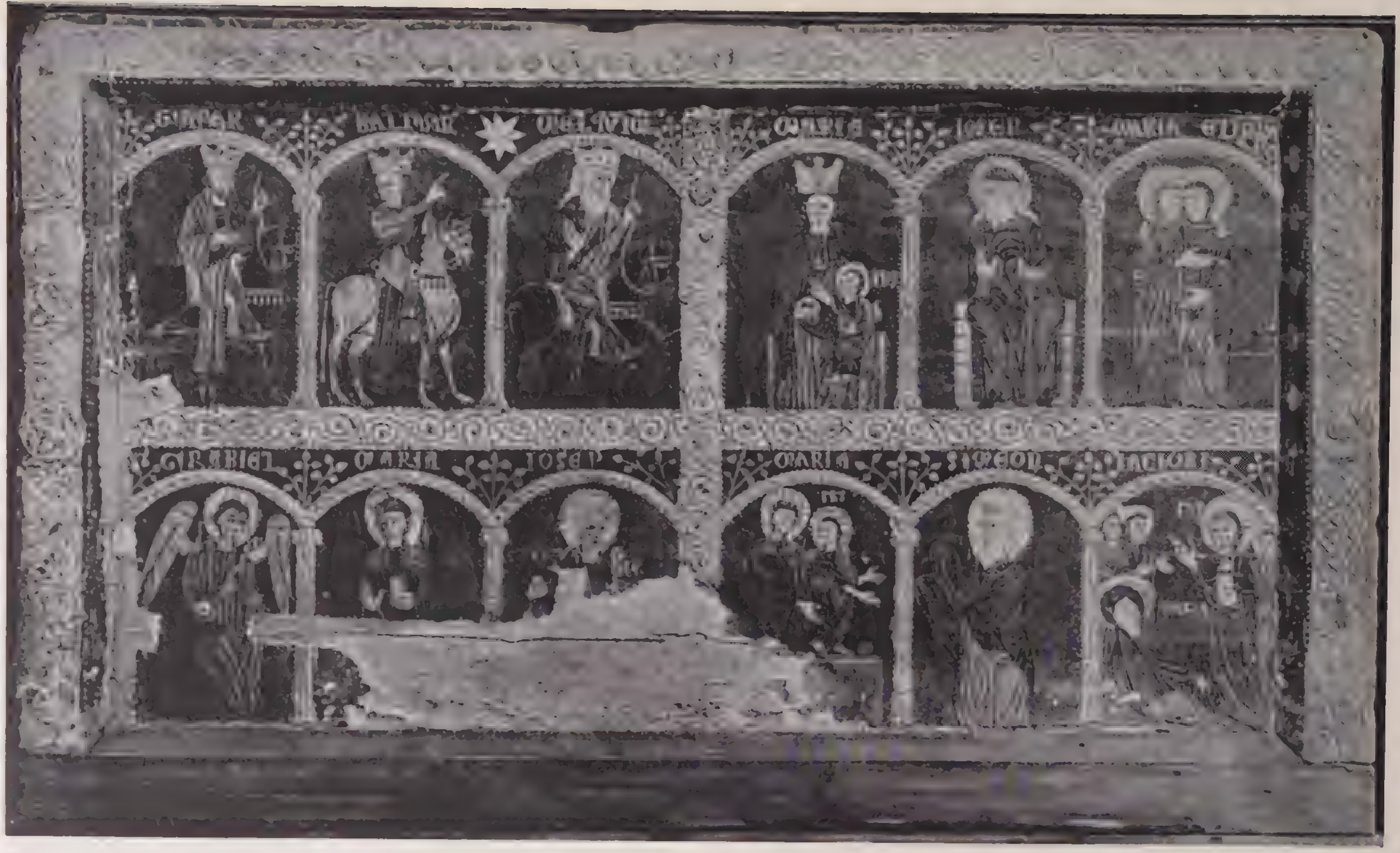
MARIA
IOSEP
GABRIEL
MARIA
IOSEP
MARIA
SIMEON

FIG. 70. FRONTAL OF MOSOLL. MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

categorically that it is the Virgin's dormition which the painter has here meant to picture. In the space above each of the other arches the personages depicted below are accurately labelled, so that we are almost bound to believe that the plural *Iachobi* identifies the two Sts. James among the followers of Christ underneath. It may be that they receive the honor of mention because of the prominence of one of them, Santiago, in Spain. If *per contra* some other, as yet unrecognized scene is depicted, it must be one in which the Saviour and a sacred personage named Mary take part, for they are both identified by legends within the arch itself; but I can find nothing in the legend of St. Mary Iacobi with which this representation could be connected. It does not seem likely that the genitive of *Iacobus* would have been used to introduce perfunctorily an allusion to the patron saint of Spain, when all the other names are in the nominative, or that the word should be employed without reference to what is depicted below. The presupposition would be that, since the other scenes relate the story of the Virgin, this last space would be devoted to a continuation of the series. Possibly Our Lord's appearance to her after the Resurrection is telescoped with the appearance to St. James Minor, which is catalogued in I Cor. xv, 7; but why then does she swoon and why the presence also of Santiago?

The frontal of Mosoll is one of those panels in regard to which it is hard to choose between a grouping with the objects of the Romanesque period or with those of the Gothic. The new age is proclaimed by the fresh naturalism of gesture, the brightness, and the vivacity, in contrast to a certain degree of monastic severity that lingers about even the liveliest of the Romanesque productions. The death of the Virgin or whatever other event is represented in this compartment appears to be a new composition, and even so difficult a scene to vary as the Visitation is treated with a novelty of posture that expresses lifelike tenderness. The naturalistic foliage in the spandrels of the arcade betokens the beginning of the Gothic interest in the world about us. The painter had doubtless seen the Gothic miniatures of the north, but he still remains fairly true to Romanesque types, draperies, and general style. The rather large and rigid folds are not Byzantine but derived from some occidental

Romanesque source. Folch believes that the antependium was painted by the same shop that produced the Encamp and Feneras specimens; but, although he is right in discerning a certain similarity in the features of the countenance which may indicate that the artist had once studied for a time in this shop, the general and numerous divergences in style and composition forestall the possibility of such identity of authorship. The gaiety and richness of the Mosoll panel may have been stimulated by Mohammedan art, a knowledge of which is revealed in the medallions of animals and the *motifs* of interlacings on the frame of embossed stucco. The background of the scenes is uniformly red. The horse of the second Wise Man looks like a beast of the Beatus manuscripts. The date of the frontal is certainly no earlier than the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

8. The Frontals with Raised Stucco Backgrounds

A final group of antependia of the thirteenth century consists of the specimens that lie half-way between the frontals executed wholly in paint and those which are carried out entirely in sculptured stucco and which therefore fall without the province of this book. In the group to be considered in these pages, both the frame and the background are of raised stucco, but a compromise is effected between the strictly sculptural and the strictly pictorial examples by rendering the figures flatly in paint rather than in stucco relief, so that they look unpleasantly like paper-dolls cut out and pasted on an alien setting. The frontals of this group as well as the wholly sculptured stucco frontals imitate the goldsmith's antependia more closely than do the much more numerous specimens executed, with the possible exception of the borders, completely by the brush; in the class here under discussion, the stucco background was diapered and gilded to give the impression of metal, although the gold has now worn off. All the antependia of this class are so similar that they may be supposed to have been produced by the same workshop or in any case by closely related workshops. Inasmuch as at least two of them, those of Treserra and Chía, were discovered in the region north of Lérida, it has usually been held that the centre of their manufacture lay somewhere in the district of that capital. This theory is strengthened by the fact that they reveal patent Moorish elements, more naturally to be expected in this part of Catalonia, which had remained in infidel hands until 1118. Even the medium of stucco is evidence of the persistence of the Arabic artistic tradition. The tonality of color in the figures is regularly somewhat more subdued than is the norm in the frontals that are painted throughout. The Byzantine influence that has been discerned by critics in the figures seems to the present writer to have been exaggerated. It is certainly much less decided than in the second group of frontals of the thirteenth century in the classification that has been made in this book. Memories of Byzantine forms and compositions doubtless now and then flitted through the minds of the men who made the panels of Lérida, but what borrowings there are from the art of the Christian East are largely translated into the general occidental and Catalan idiom that characterizes these works.

The best known piece of the group (Fig. 71) is the antependium of St. Vincent in the Episcopal Museum, Lérida, coming from the hamlet of Treserra (near Cornudella, north of Benabarre). The central compartment adopts the thirteenth century liberty of substituting a figure of the saint for the Pantocrator or the Madonna. Nor is he honored by a mandorla but sits under a trilobed arch of Moorish lines. In the four lateral compartments, the story of St. Vincent is related with a singular tameness and lack of invention. The scene of his preaching is monotonously similar to that of his arrest, and the composition for his death is almost an exact repetition of the episode of his torture. The pattern of the background, a checker of small lozenges formed by incised, intersecting oblique lines, themselves accented by dots, was undoubtedly derived from the Moors. From the same source came also the medallions of heraldic lions on the outer frame and of heraldic eagles on the broad horizontal border dividing the lateral spaces into compartments, and Professor Cook has added to the list of Mohammedan borrowings the half-leaves used in a repeated design between the medallions. The somewhat mature rendering of the

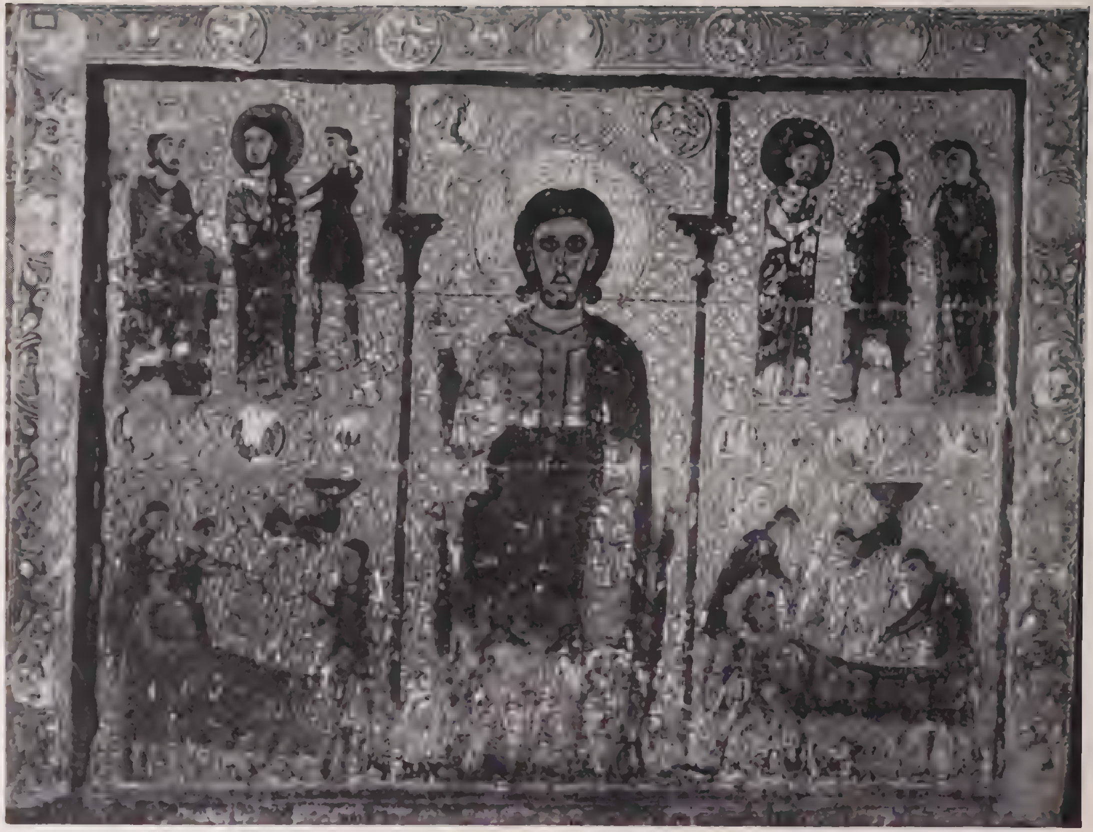

Fig. 71. FRONTAL OF TRESERRA. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, LÉRIDA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

forms would place the panel slightly later in the thirteenth century than Professor Cook's date, which is *c.* 1200.

The collection of Rómulo Bosch at Barcelona contains an antependium of the Virgin that certainly was made in the same atelier (Fig. 72). The relative proportions of the central and lateral compartments are almost identical with those of the Treserra piece. In the central compartment the Madonna sits under a trilobed Mohammedan arch that is a duplicate of the one which shelters St. Vincent, and the compartment is bound by similar slender columns and capitals, significantly like those of the second story of the Pahería at Lérida, which dates from the end of the twelfth century (although the columns in the Bosch panel exhibit at intervals a twisted ornamentation and

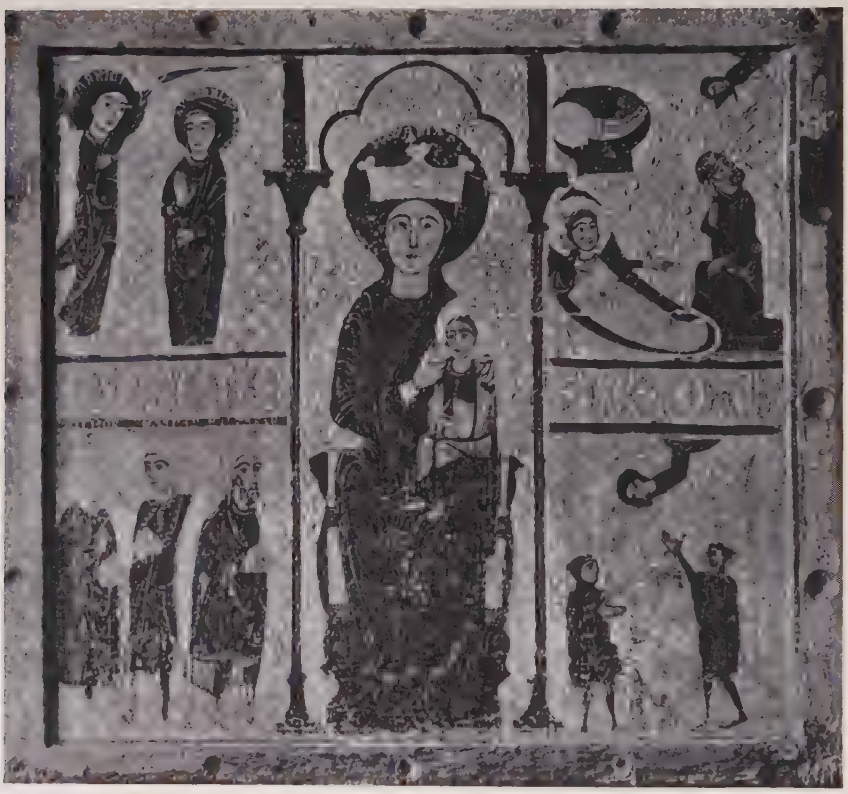

Fig. 72. FRONTAL OF VIRGIN. BOSCH COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Courtesy of Don Romulo Bosch)

the capitals are differently adorned). An anomaly is the representation of the Virgin as nursing the Child, anticipating the popularization of this *motif* of the "Madonna of the Milk" that took place in Catalan painting of the fourteenth century through Italian influence. As in other frontals of Our Lady, the three Magi are relegated to the lower left compartment in diminutive size; the other lateral compartments include the Annunciation, Nativity, and the angelic proclamation to the shepherds. The angel in the Nativity and in the Annunciation to the shepherds is exactly the same curious little creature, bent at the same angle, with a small puff of cloud at the feet, that appears in the torture and death of St. Vincent. The raised stucco background is diapered with an identical pattern, which is as much of a trade-mark as the *motifs* stamped or modelled in the gold backgrounds by Catalan workshops of the second half of the fifteenth century; but the frame is less pretentious than that of the St. Vincent frontal, with no medallions of beasts, and the horizontal border that divides the lateral spaces is adorned only with a design of palmettes. This antependium is the best handle for those to seize upon who would denominate the style of the figures as Byzantine. The draperies with their minute folds, especially those of the central Virgin, and the attenuated canon of form imply some superficial interest in Byzantine models, but even here, particularly in the Nativity, the popular Catalan spirit is uppermost. The tonality of the panel is dominated by a vibration of brick red. The date is apparently somewhat subsequent to that of the Treserra frontal.

Two other antependia of the group help to swell the riches of the Plandiura Collection. The raised stucco background of both is identical. As in the Treserra and Bosch panels, dotted lines intersect obliquely to form lozenges, but in the Plandiura frontals these lozenges are not left plain but are decorated with a pattern of three (occasionally five) petals, constituting probably a conventionalized fleur-de-lis. It may therefore be supposed that the Plandiura panels were produced by one shop, whether or not the same as that which was responsible for the other two antependia of the series. One of the Plandiura pieces, dedicated to St. Martin (Fig. 73), has the interest of bearing a signature upon the bevel of the lower part of the frame, I O ħ S (Johannes) PINTOR ME FECIT,[1] who thus may be the author of this whole group of stuccoed panels. Its provenience is Aragonese, the town of Chía, south of the French border on the road that leads from Benasque to Barbastro, close enough, however, to the diocese and province of Lérida to admit its manufacture in some atelier of that region. The central compartment, broader than in the Treserra and Bosch panels, is once again usurped by a saint. In full episcopal regalia, St. Martin sits, blessing, under a Mohammedan arch of three lobes. The lateral compartments are occupied by four scenes from his life: the episode at the lower right apparently represents, as in the frescoes of Leon, one of his colloquies with the devil. The frame affords evidence which would point to the same workshop that did the first two antependia considered in this group. As in the Bosch example, it is narrow and is punctuated with unusually small concave disks, but, alternating with these, it has the medallions of heraldic lions seen in the Treserra panel. The chasuble of the central St. Martin is embellished with the common Catalan Romanesque *motif* of three dots. Like the Treserra frontal, the antependium of St. Martin should be dated rather early in the thirteenth century.[2]

The other Plandiura antependium, of unknown provenience, is more pretentious and was undoubtedly the latest of the series to be produced, belonging probably to the second quarter of the century (Fig. 74). For the broad central compartment, however, the painter returns to the more traditional theme of the Virgin and Child in an almond-shaped glory, but he incongruously surrounds her in the spandrels, as in No. 3 of the Museum at Vich, with the signs of the Evangelists. The themes of the four lateral compartments are nearly identical with those of the frontal of Aviá. The lower left compartment, as so frequently, is assigned to the three Magi. With the tendency to elaboration that marks this Plandiura panel, two scenes, the Annunciation and Visitation, are compressed into the upper

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[1] Another antependium bearing a signature, that of a Magister Alexander, has long since disappeared from its resting place, the church of St. Genis des Fontaines across the French border near Elne: cf. the bulletin of the *Société agricole, scientifique et littéraire des Pyrénées Orientales*, XII (1860), 59, and XIX (1872), 208.

[2] Gudiol (*Els primitius*, I, 73) dates it in the second half of the thirteenth century.

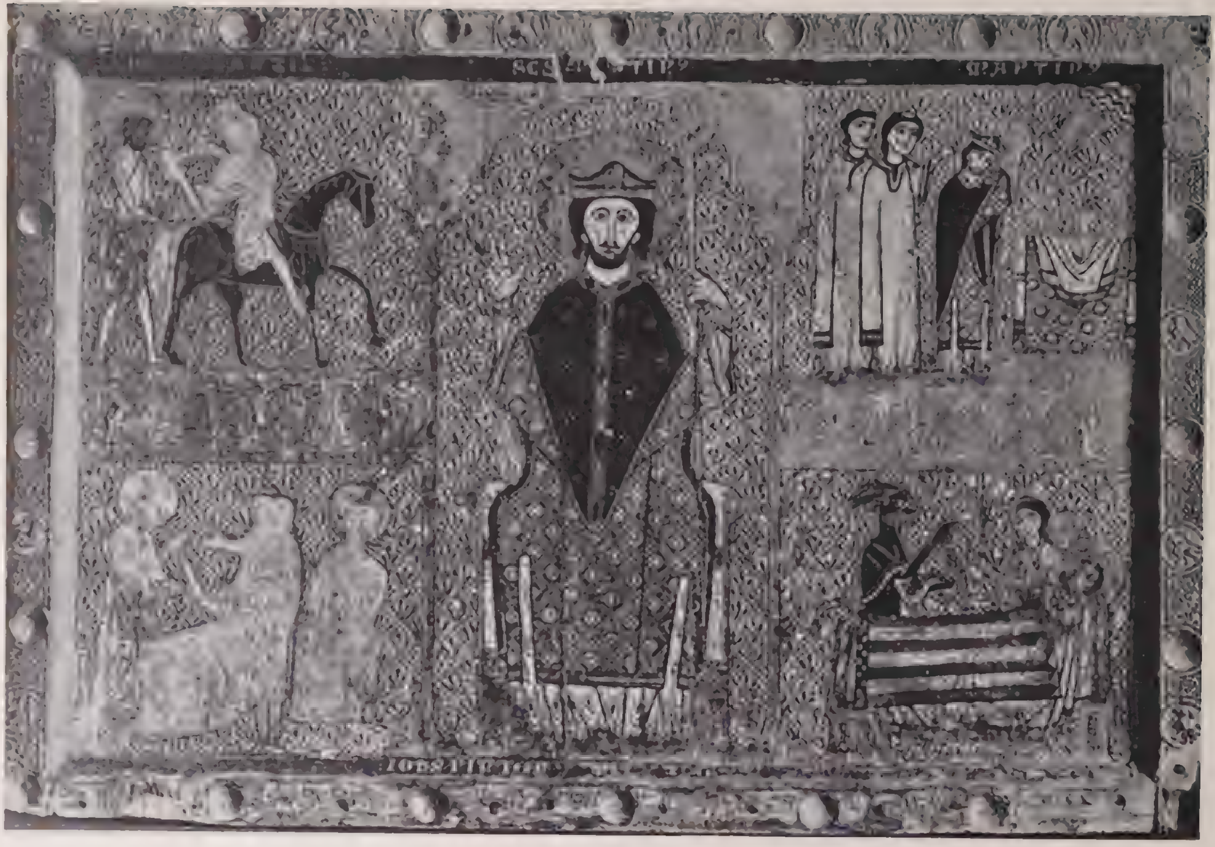

Fig. 73. FRONTAL SIGNED BY JOHANNES. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

left compartment, separated, as in the Aviá piece, by a column. The parallelism to the Aviá panel continues with the employment of the upper right compartment for the Nativity, but in the Plandiura frontal the compartment is complicated by the addition, in the right background on a smaller scale, of the Annunciation to the Shepherds. The parallelism breaks with the lower right compartment, which contains, not the Presentation, but the Flight into Egypt, made more elaborate by the representation, in the left background, of two smaller scenes,

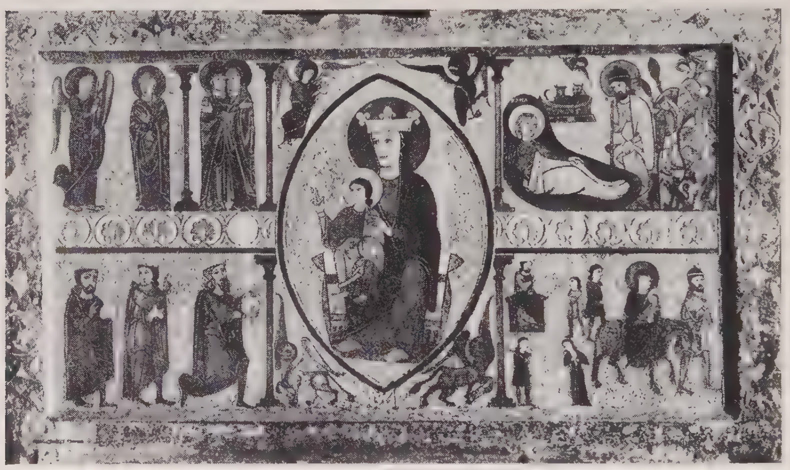

Fig. 74. FRONTAL OF VIRGIN. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(Photo. Serra)

Herod giving direction for the Massacre of the Innocents and, beneath, a woman rending her garments at the slaughter of her child. The affinities to the other antependia of the group are numerous, whether indicative of the same atelier or the imitation by one atelier of the traits of another. The frame is almost identical with that of the Treserra piece, and the border dividing the lateral spaces with that of the Bosch panel. Four columns, similar to those that appear in all the other frontals, bound the central Madonna, one on either side above the horizontal border and in the same way below; a like column separates the Annunciation and Visitation. The Wise Man at the left is analogous in type both to the St. Vincent and the Dacian in the lateral compartments of the Treserra frontal; Herod in the Flight into Egypt also recalls the Dacian; the executioner of St. Vincent is repeated in the menials of the compartment of the Flight; and the posture of the Virgin in the Annunciation is duplicated in the same scene of the Bosch frontal. Yet the style and craftsmanship are plainly more mature than that exhibited by the other members of the series, despite the retention of the Languedoc swirl at the edge of Gabriel's drapery. The forms are already touched by Gothic. A comparison of the more expert mount of the Virgin in the Flight with that of St. Martin giving his cloak to the beggar in the Plandiura frontal provides a concrete instance of the posterior date. The Annunciation to the Shepherds affords one of the rare examples of the introduction of a bit of landscape into an antependium, here even something more than a mere symbolic suggestion. The excited dogs in this episode may perhaps be added to the list of pieces of Spanish naturalism.[1]

The Plandiura Collection contains yet another antependium which in style is related to this group, although only the frame, with a *motif* of foliate scrolls, and not the background of the paintings, is executed in stucco. It comes from a place that geographically might easily have been subjected to the influence of the Lérida atelier, the hamlet of Estet near Bono in the Pyrenees, almost directly, though considerably, north of Treserra, where the frontal of the Lérida Museum was found, and not far from Chía, the place of provenience of the panel signed by Master Johannes. Even in its restored condition the antependium is a wreck (Fig. 75). In the centre, the Pantocrator is fairly well preserved, an effigy in which the desperate struggle for majesty has resulted merely in an almost humorous grimness. The spandrels of the blue mandorla originally contained the Evangelistic symbols, in part still visible. In the four surrounding compartments, three of the scenes may be discerned far enough to identify the story probably with that of St. Clement of Rome. At the upper right is apparently the episode of his miraculous drawing of the water from the rock during his banishment to the quarries, and the rock is labelled *Fonte*. But there are some divergences from the account that was later to be given in the *Golden Legend*, for the apparition of

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[1] A discussion of the Gothic antependia of this group will be found in a later chapter.

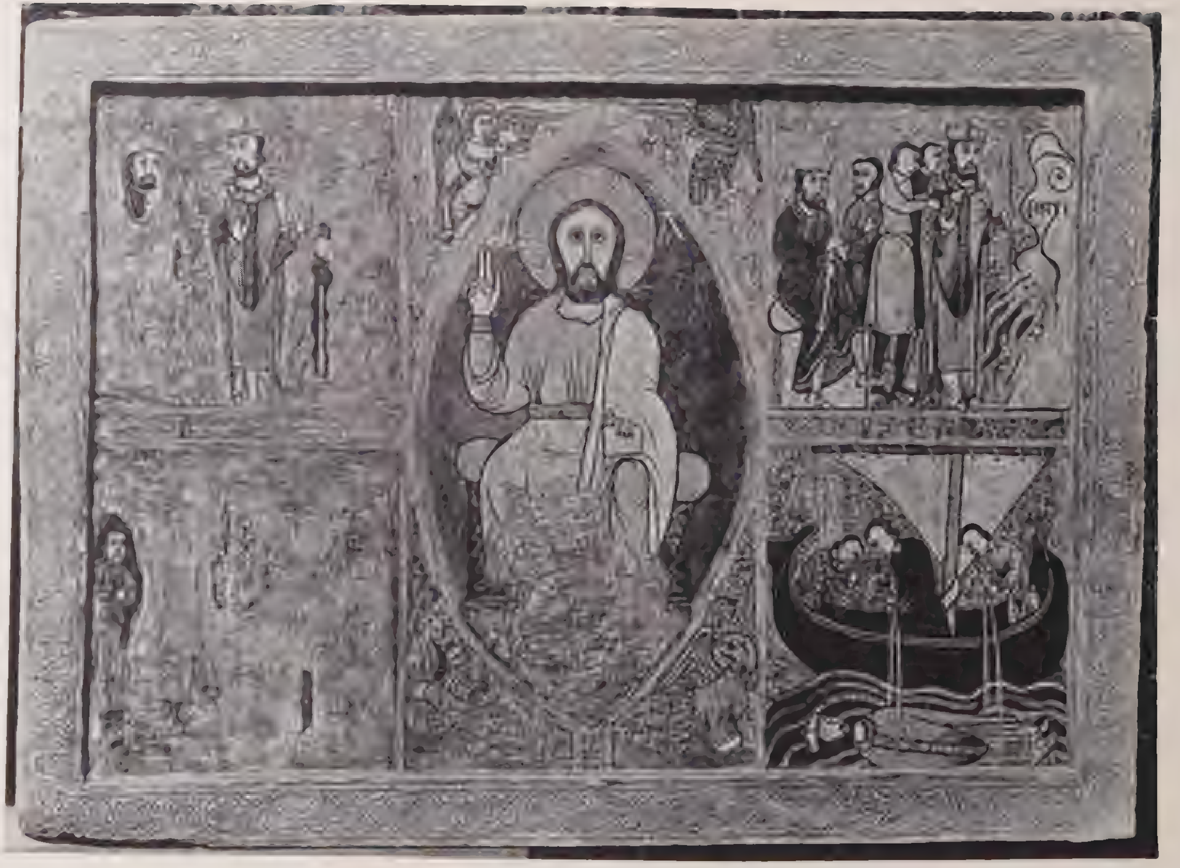

Fig. 75. FRONTAL OF ST. CLEMENT. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

the Lamb of God, to indicate the place of the water, is absent, and the henchmen of the bishop's judge, Mamertinus, seem to be impelling the saint to the miracle at the command of the magistrate, whereas in the *Golden Legend* Clement performs the wonder voluntarily out of pity for his fellow-prisoners and not in the presence of Mamertinus. The compartment, however, may be an example of the frequent mediaeval practice of telescoping two episodes, in this instance the decree of exile and the miracle of the water. The lower right division depicts the casting of St. Clement into the sea; the fragmentary upper left scene is perhaps his trial. The style is that of a somewhat countrified craftsman of the first half of the thirteenth century imitating, with as yet no very evident knowledge of Gothic, the figure-drawing of the painters who worked on the stucco frontals. To be convinced of the relationship, one needs only to compare the St. Clement with the St. Martin or the Wise Men of the two antependia of this class in the Plandiura Collection, the Mamertinus with the Herod, or the bailiffs of Mamertinus with St. Vincent's persecutors in the Treserra panel. The water into which St. Clement is thrown is indicated by the same convention as in the Gothic antependium in the Plandiura Collection dedicated to this bishop, which we shall find to constitute an example of the persistence, perhaps as late as the fourteenth century, of the compromise between the arts of the painter and stuccoist.

An antependium with raised stucco backgrounds and with figures of a style much like that of the Lérida group found its way into the somewhat distant town of Llanás, near Camprodón (northeast of Ripoll), where it still remains on the high altar of the parish church. It harmonizes with the dedication of the church by embodying the story of St. Stephen. The blessing Pantocrator occupies a mandorla at the centre, holding a book with the inscribed phrase *Ego sum lux mundi* and surrounded in the spandrels by the signs of the Evangelists. The two spaces on both sides, not separated from the mandorla by borders but extending to its edge (as, for instance, in No. 7 of the Museum at Vich), are divided from each other by horizontal bands and contain four episodes relating to St. Stephen. At the upper left is depicted his election as deacon, and above, on the border, is inscribed, from the sixth chapter of Acts, *Elegerunt Stephanum levitam*[1] *plenum fide et Spiritus Sancti.*[2] The scene at the lower left is the martyrdom, accompanied, on the vertical side of the border, by the inscription compressed from the last two verses of the seventh chapter of Acts, *Lapidaverunt Stephanum et ipse invocabat Dominum dicens, Ne statuas.* Among his executioners are types betraying a not very pronounced aspect of the regular Catalan caricature of the lower classes. At the upper right Gamaliel appears to the priest Lucian and directs the disinterment of his own body, his son's, his nephew's, and St. Stephen's: on the border above are written the names, *Lucianus presbyteros,*[3] *Gamaliel.* The lower right corner is assigned to the actual invention of the holy deacon's relics, with the inscription on the adjoining vertical border, *Inventio Sancti Stephani Promartiris* (as the term sometimes appears in Vulgar Latin instead of *Protomartiris*). The background of the mandorla, originally red, is not rendered in relief, and it is therefore only the spaces about the figures in the narrative scenes that exhibit the raised stucco, treated with *motifs* that look like conventionalized suns and daisies scattered about in a somewhat haphazard way without the usual formal arrangement. The frame, again not in relief, is painted with a stylized floral pattern (Fig. 76).

Another distant relation of the Lérida stucco group is the antependium of St. Martin in the collection of Henry Walters at Baltimore (Fig. 77). The tie of kinship is found not so much in stylistic analogies of the figures as in the fact that the background of the lateral compartments is embossed. In this instance, however, as in the Llanás example, the design of the background is not only quite different from that of the Lérida panels but is also larger and more florid, consisting of a *motif* of a scroll and fleur-de-lis. The frontal has the unique importance of preserving a date in what remains of an inscription on the bottom ridge of the frame. In the present condition of the panel

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[1] The *m* of *levitam* is not apparent.

[2] Since he uses the genitive *Spiritus Sancti* after *plenum* and not the ablative construction, *fide* must also be genitive, a common poetic form of the genitive of this word instead of *fidei.* Here and in the subsequent quotation it is clear that he is following some other Latin version than the Vulgate.

[3] The abbreviation here used seems to stand for a Latin transliteration of the Greek πρεσβύτερος, and not for the Latin word *presbyter.*

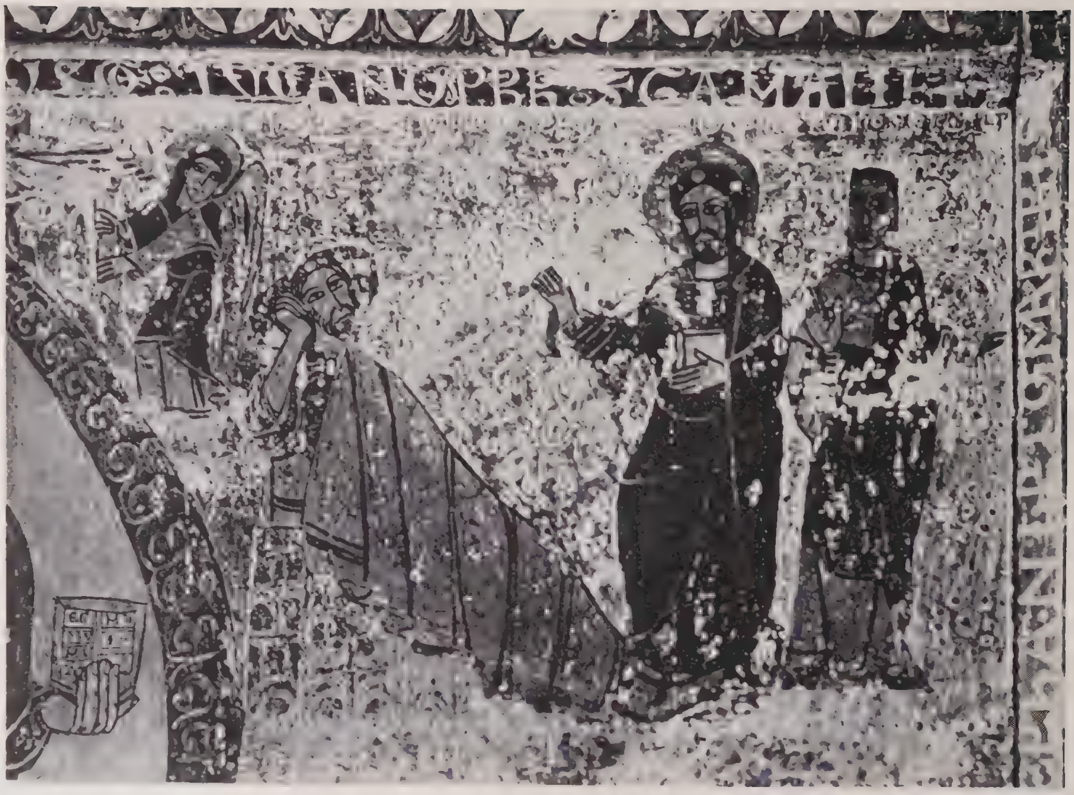

Fig. 76. VISION OF LUCIAN, SECTION OF FRONTAL OF ST. STEPHEN. PARISH CHURCH, LLANÁS

(*Photo. Serra*)

the inscription reads: ANNO DNI MCCI, with the lower part of the last letter in the date effaced, so that, as far as what is left of this letter goes, it might be I or L, and the year therefore 1201 or 1250. But since each letter of the Roman numeral is followed by a dot, and the dot after the I is at a greater distance from the I than the dots after the other letters, it would seem that this letter took up more space than an I, that there was room for the lower stroke of an L, and that, therefore, the last letter of the numeral was L. Moreover, those who in former days have examined the inscription have stated the date to be 1250.[1] The Pantocrator in a mandorla is given His customary place of honor at the centre, and the Evangelistic symbols are in the spandrels. The four lateral compartments (partly effaced) relate events from St. Martin's life. In the upper left compartment is the common scene of the division of the cloak with the beggar, in which the hind legs of the horse curiously project out upon the frame. The upper right compartment depicts the likewise frequently encountered episode of St. Martin's vision of Our Lord after his act of charity, but with the iconographical peculiarity that it is not conceived, according to the usual custom, as a nocturnal experience of the saint in bed but that he kneels beside his steed before Christ who appears censed by two angels in the heavens, which are symbolized by a graceful conventionalization of clouds at either side. In the lower left division, St. Martin, now wearing a chasuble of a brocade of rosettes and a mitre of the thirteenth century, seems to be bestowing his blessing upon three deacons, holding what appear to be books and clad in dalmatics, each of which has a different ornamental pattern. The episode might possibly be the rousing of the saint from his pious meditations to say mass, a scene that is painted by Simone Martini in his cycle from the life of St. Martin in the lower church at Assisi; but the event in this compartment of the frontal has also been interpreted as St. Martin's ordination by St. Hilary, in which case the bishop would be St. Hilary and one of the deacons St. Martin. The lower right compartment reveals the saint lying dead or asleep, while there hover above him three angels, whose

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[1] *Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibition of Spanish Old Masters*, Grafton Galleries, London, 1913–1914, p. 7.

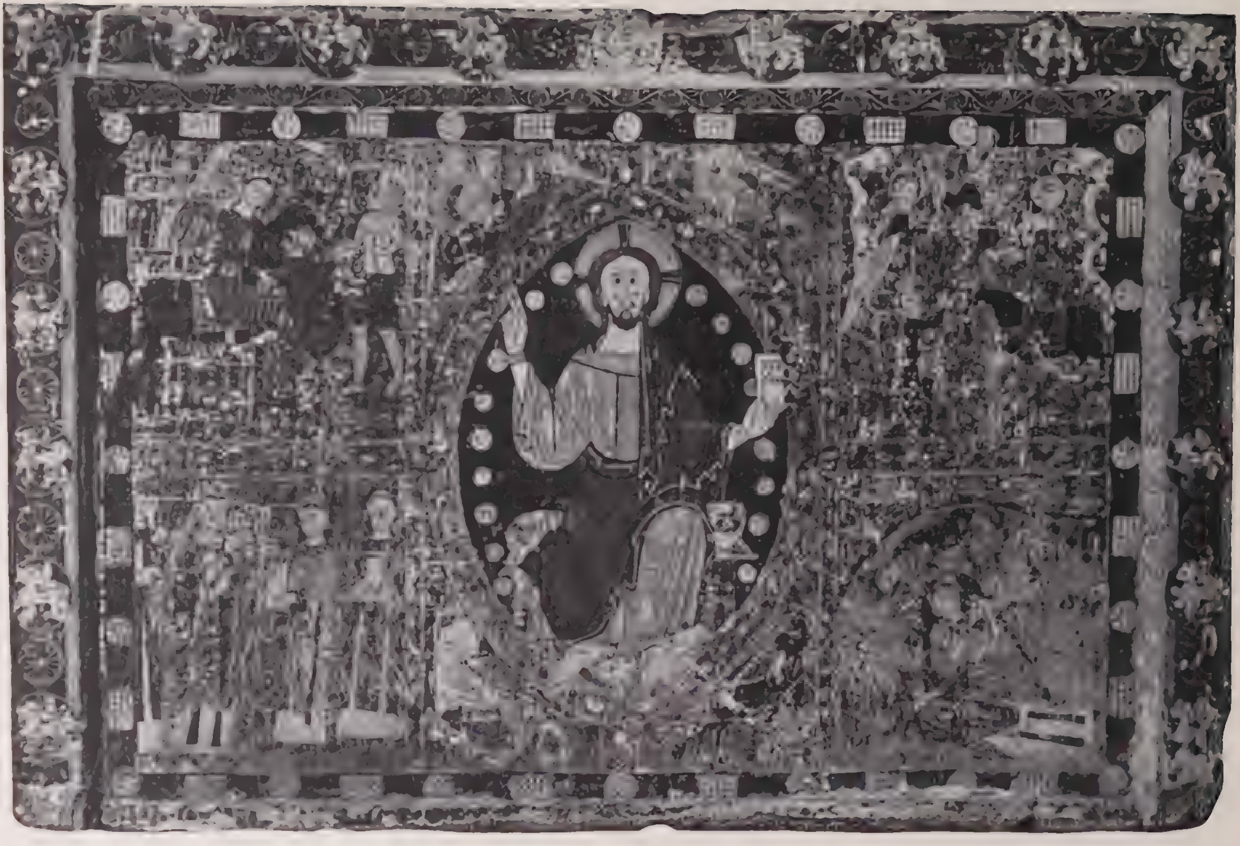

Fig. 77. FRONTAL OF ST. MARTIN. WALTERS COLLECTION, BALTIMORE

(Courtesy of Mr. Henry Walters)

bodies and wings, in the Romanesque fashion, are arbitrarily forced into the given space. From the hand of the angel at the left a censer hangs down over St. Martin's head; and, behind the central angel, it seems to be possible to distinguish a miniature figure, which may symbolize the holy bishop's soul, stretching out arms to the angel at the right, so that the whole scene may represent his death and translation to heaven. In this and the upper left compartment, according to a frequent Romanesque and Gothic practice, an arch is sprung across the top in the spandrels of which are pieces of painted architecture.

Between the lateral compartments and the central Christ there is a divergence in style. The Pantocrator belongs to the manner of the Byzantinized group of Romanesque panels of the thirteenth century, whereas the scenes at the side reveal premonitions of Gothicism and incipient naturalism. The types of the figures in the lateral sections suggest those that appear in the Gothic glass of the early thirteenth century, but there is as yet no Gothic undulation of the drapery, except perhaps, embryonically, in the red cloak that St. Martin gives to the beggar. The technical method is linear, but again in the cloak there begins to be a rudimentary indication of shadow. The drawing throughout the panel is raised well above the ordinary standard of the antependia. The hands and feet, so often slurred over by primitive artists, are delineated with some nicety, especially those of the central Christ. The beggar's legs, also, are nothing for him to be ashamed of. The hair of the Pantocrator reveals painstaking craftsmanship. The loveliest of the lateral sections is the scene of the young Martin's vision of the Saviour, where the heads of Our Lord and of the angels, just merging into Gothicism, have the delicate beauty of thirteenth century illumination. Were it not for these similarities in small detail and in general excellence between the central figure and the lateral compartments and were it not that these compartments retain such Romanesque mannerisms as the circular red spots on the cheeks and in some instances the bulbous protrusion above the nose,[1] one might have doubted whether the sides were by the same man who did the central Pantocrator; but it was perfectly natural that for this more traditional figure he should have adopted an old Romanesque model and that in the less frequent episodes from the life of St. Martin he should have relied more upon his own invention, prompting it with reminiscences of early Gothic glass and miniatures.

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[1] See below, p. 293.

The ornamentation of the Walters antependium is even more opulent than was the wont. In addition to the treatment of the background of the lateral compartments in relief and in a rather ostentatious pattern, not only are the edge of the mandorla and the borders that separate the scenes modelled and embossed to counterfeit the specimens of the goldsmith's art, but around and within the edge of the mandorla itself a further series of embossed rosettes is inserted. The frame consists, first, of an outer molding decorated with medallions of embossed heraldic lions alternated with smaller, flat rosettes. The background to this embellishment is itself red, edged with yellow. The next molding is bevelled and embellished with a *motif* of scrolls. The inmost molding is red, against which is set an alternation of rosettes and a raised pattern of checkers. The yellow tunic of the central Saviour is ornamented with a foliate design which is employed on so many parts of the garment that it is clear that in this instance it is meant for a brocade and not as a stylization of the folds.

The figure of Christ presents certain similarities to the Pantocrator of the Valltarga antependium in the Barcelona Museum. Except for the more primitive character of the head in the Baltimore example and the different gesture of the left hand, the parallelism is rather close, especially in pose, in composition of the drapery, and even in such details as the zigzag edges to the folds. Yet the general divergences between the two panels are too great to admit the theory of production by a single shop or even related shops. The dawning Gothicism of the lateral compartments in the St. Martin frontal is quite opposed to the refined Byzantinism that characterizes the figures even of these sections in the Valltarga picture; the technical proficiency, though above the average, is on a lower plane than the sophisticated Byzantine craft of the other panel; and the lavish ornamentation lies at the opposite pole from the chastity that the Barcelona antependium exhibits. The analogy between the two figures of the Saviour, however, indicates that they were executed about the same time and thus assists in the dating of the Valltarga piece. The more primitive character of His countenance in the Walters example may be merely an archaistic imitation of older types and in any case would not imply a much earlier moment than that of the Valltarga Christ. Nor does the inferior workmanship necessarily carry us back further, but it may be simply a sign of provincial indebtedness to more urbane models. The embryonic naturalism and Gothicism of the St. Martin scenes would demand a date well on in the thirteenth century, so that the reading of the numeral in the inscription as 1250 is justified; and it is not at all inconsistent that at the same time in the central Pantocrator the painter, like the master of the Valltarga frontal, should have also still continued the Byzantine tradition.

The antependium of Bolvir (close to Puigcerdá) in the Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona, the compositional anomalies of which have already been mentioned, is connected with the group of stucco frontals because it too is a closer imitation of the examples in metal and enamel than the merely painted panels; but the technical method, the themes and their arrangement, the resulting general appearance, and the decorative details are so different that it cannot have come from the same or even an affiliated workshop. Its provenience, furthermore, is not the region of Lérida. In the first place the diapered relief of the once completely gilded background is lower, giving more the illusion of chased metal than do the frontals of the Lérida group; nor is the decorative pattern the same. Folch believes that both in the Bolvir panel and in the Lérida series the intent was to simulate the kind of Byzantine icon in which the painted figure of the holy personage is surrounded by a plate of metal cut out at the centre to follow the outline of the form; but, since the panels are antependia, it seems more natural to think that their executers had rather the more closely related models of the goldsmiths' antependia in mind. The resemblance to the icons is greater in the case of the Bolvir piece, but even here the prototype was probably a metal frontal. Gold was also used for decoration on the garments of the painted figures of the story of St. Cecilia that are set against the patterned background. The only real similarity to the Lérida series in detail is found in the medallions of animals on the frame. Despite the fact that these *motifs* may have an oriental derivation and despite the possibly Mohammedan origin of the interlacement that embellishes the border which divides the two zones, the Moorish indebtedness is less than in the Lérida group. It is usual to trace in the figure-painting Byzantine influence. Although the panel has been treated so badly by time that little or none of the color is left, the lines of the drawing, since they were incised, remain to tell us what the style was. The superior quality of the draughtsmanship, as compared with the average achievements of the period, would perhaps indicate Byzantine tutelage, but occidental models were also working at the back of the artist's mind. The absence of any really naturalistic touches, where such a picturesque and domestic tale as that of St. Cecilia would be expected to have inspired them, may perhaps again be interpreted as the result of Byzantine refrigeration. Enough archaism is left to preclude a dating later than the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

9. PANELS OTHER THAN FRONTALS USED IN THE DECORATION OF THE ALTAR

Some of the most interesting extant painted sections of altar-furnishings other than frontals were not executed until the Gothic style had won its battle. From the examples that may properly find their place in the Romanesque group, there are preserved several dissociated panels that closed in the altar at the sides, in addition to those that have already been considered as known to belong to existing antependia. Such was probably the function of the panel in the Museum of Vich representing a standing angel.[1] The broad bands that are used to indicate the folds of drapery and their stylization, although it is scarcely carried to the point of actual spirals, suggest the manner of the St. Lawrence frontal in the same Museum, and the date may well be synchronous — about the end of the twelfth century. The background is yellow, but the flesh tones are white.

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[1] It bears no number in the Museum, and should not be confused with the panel of similar office in the same collection, also unnumbered, which, representing St. Michael and the devil weighing souls, is a companion-piece to a panel depicting Sts. Peter and Paul together (different from Nos. 1 and 2 of the Museum, the subjects of which are also these Apostles). The panel of St. Michael and the devil will be considered in the Gothic section of this book. Miss Richert makes the mistake at least of ascribing the panels of the angel and of Sts. Peter and Paul to the same period (p. 30), and publishes reproductions of them on the same page (plates 20a and 20b).

It is likely that the much more masterly panels, Nos. 10 and 11 at Vich, also once served as side-pieces to an altar, although it is just possible that they were parts of a reredos. They represent the Coronation of the Virgin and the rare theme of the seated Virgin accompanied by St. John Evangelist and encompassed by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit in the form of doves in medallions (Fig. 78). The present writer believes it highly probable that they were the side-pieces of the altar for which No. 4 of the Museum of Vich constituted the frontal (Fig. 66), although the provenience neither of the frontal nor of the two panels, if it is indeed known, has as yet been divulged. The Catalogue of the Museum notes the identity of the interlacing *motif* on the lower part of the frame of No. 11 and on the sides of the frame of No. 4; and the foliate scrolls on the under section of the frame of No. 10 are very similar, if not equal, to the almost effaced decoration on the same part of the frame of No. 4. There are, however, still closer links to bind together the three pieces. The similarity in the draperies is in itself almost convincing. The stylization of the lower folds of the garments in bold lines and curving patches in the central Virgin of No. 4 is virtually repeated in the Virgin with the gifts of the Holy Spirit and less exactly in the Virgin and Christ of the Coronation. The lines in which her mantle curves about her lower body are analogous in the central representation of No. 4 and in No. 11. In all these panels there appears several times the same peculiarity of the sharply nicked edges to the robes. The personal types are also related. The long, outspread hands of Our Lady and St. John have their exact counterparts in the central Madonna and the Virgin of the Annunciation in the frontal. The seated figures in the three panels are placed upon identical cushions. The script of the legends is likewise the same, and the connection of the three pieces is not contradicted by the dimensions, although No. 11 has lost a strip at the right. As in the antependium, a dependence upon Byzantine art is unmistakable, and yet in the large figures of the side-pieces the painter has cultivated to a greater degree the magnificent swing of drapery and the monumentality that may be seen in the best French frescoes and sculptured tympana of the Romanesque and early Gothic periods. The panels, indeed, like the frontal, have felt the first breath of Gothic. Some indication of shadow is added to the line-drawing of the Romanesque, and the Romanesque spots on the cheeks have expanded into larger masses of color. The date would be that of the antependium, the second quarter of the thirteenth century. It is curious to find the same theme of the gifts of the Holy Spirit radiating from the Virgin in the form of medallions of doves in the already mentioned Soest frontal at Münster; the variations are insignificant, the standing posture of Our Lady and the placing of the seventh dove, not above the head, as in the Spanish example, but upon the breast. In the panel of a window at St. Denis dated 1140–1144, the

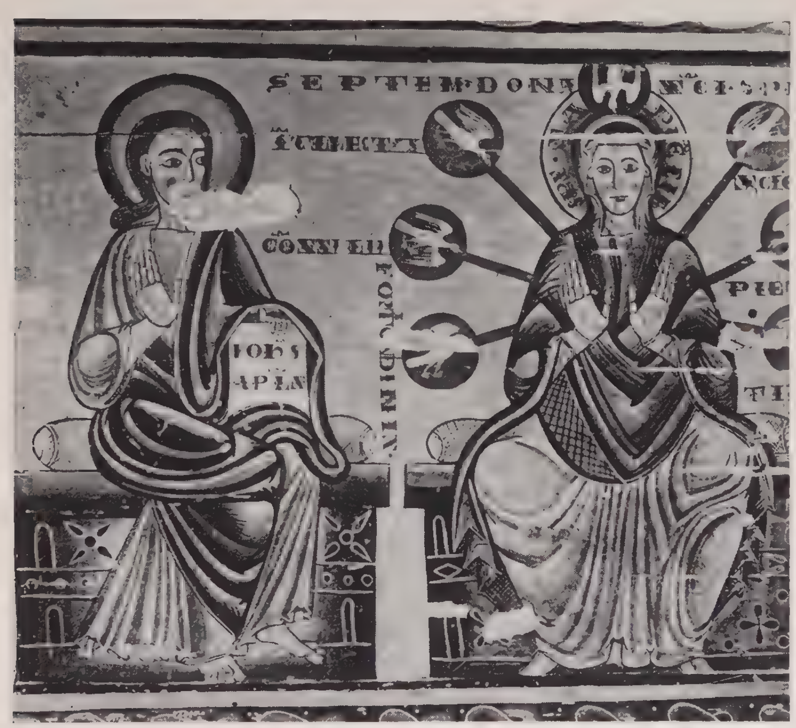

Fig. 78. VIRGIN AND ST. JOHN, PANEL IN THE MUSEUM AT VICH, No. 11
(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

medallions of the doves of the Holy Spirit are disposed on the figure of Our Lord in exactly the same way as in the antependium of Soest.[1]

The two side-pieces of an altar from Os de Tremp, now in the Plandiura Collection, although the types and, in places, the sophisticated drawing are already well-nigh Gothic, may be mentioned here because the conceptions, compositions, and, in certain aspects, the technique and the rigidity are reminiscent of the Romanesque. Almost duplicates one of the other, they represent respectively St. Peter (as bishop) (Fig. 79) and St. Paul, each enthroned in the baldest frontality and symmetry, like a Pantocrator, on the rainbow in a circular glory from which four short bands project, at the centre of each side, to form spandrels containing four supporting angels. The two Apostles are relieved against the blue or blue-green background of the glory, the angels against red. The composition may have been copied from one that was popular for depicting the Pantocrator on the sloping panels[2] that took the place of canopies over altars, for there are at least two altar-coverings of this kind with an identical division of the space but substituting in the central circle the normal figure of Our Lord. One of them, likewise in the Plandiura Collection, varies only in displaying the Evangelistic symbols in the spandrels and in seating Christ upon a throne and not on the rainbow. The other, from S. Saturnino de Tabernoles (at Anserall, near La Seo de Urgel) and now in the Museo de la Ciudadela at Barcelona, is already unmistakably early Gothic, but, as in the two side-pieces, the Saviour is ensconced on the rainbow, and the spandrels are assigned to angels. It is possible, however, that the compositions of the altar-coverings and of the side-pieces alike may have been suggested by a section of a stained-glass window, the circular border and projecting pieces taking the place of the similarly disposed leaden bindings. The method in the Plandiura side-pieces is still line-drawing upon flat color, and the draperies preserve a Romanesque schematization; but there is a freedom in the delineation of the angels that oversteps Romanesque limits. St. Peter's mitre seems to be an unsuccessful effort of perspective to represent the type of the thirteenth century with the two horns in front and back and not, as in the twelfth century, at the sides. The general style looks like a conventionalized aspect of the kind of thing that was being produced by the atelier which did the Encamp and Feneras antependia, so that the supposition is warranted that the two side-pieces were at least influenced by this shop, and another link would be constituted to unite them to the board-canopy in the Plandiura Collection, which is even more closely related to the Encamp manner.

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[1] The Virgin is surrounded by the seven doves of the Holy Ghost also in the fresco of the end of the twelfth century in the apse of the Neuwerkskirche, Goslar.

[2] Gudiol (*Gaseta de les arts*, October, 1928) actually denominates the two Plandiura panels as canopies; my authority for calling them the lateral pieces of an altar is Señor Plandiura.

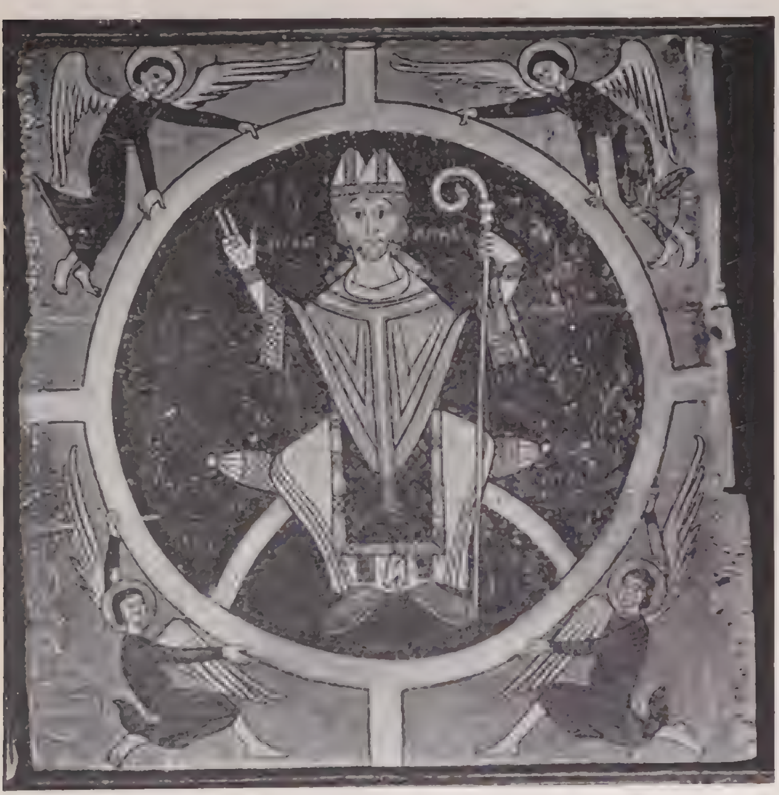

Fig. 79. PANEL OF ST. PETER. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

In the case of one or two panels that have been discussed as frontals, it has already been said that they may have been rather retables. Such was certainly the function of the long panel in the Amatller Collection, Barcelona, coming from Angoustrine (in Catalan, Angustrina, just north of Bourg-Madame in France) and representing in the middle the enthroned Christ, flanked at either side by lines of six standing Apostles (Fig. 80). The three diapered lunettes that project from its top in the centre and at the ends demonstrate that it could not have been an antependium, and its only remaining use would be that of a retable. It is obviously the handiwork of a rustic craftsman; and the production of such a person is always hard to date because, living apart from the new currents in art, he may be imitating a style that in the greater centres is already extinct and because his rudeness may be due to lack of ability rather than primitive undevelopment. One gets the impression that the maker of the Amatller panel was somewhat helplessly endeavoring to reproduce the Byzantinizing manner of the early thirteenth century, but there seems to be no special reason for following Miss Richert in shoving the date on to the end of the century. Christ and the Apostles are not separated from one another by any borders or architectural members, but the employment of a different color for the background of each Apostle serves to mark the figures off. It is as if the painter had sought to atone for his somewhat lubberly draughtsmanship by a particolored richness.

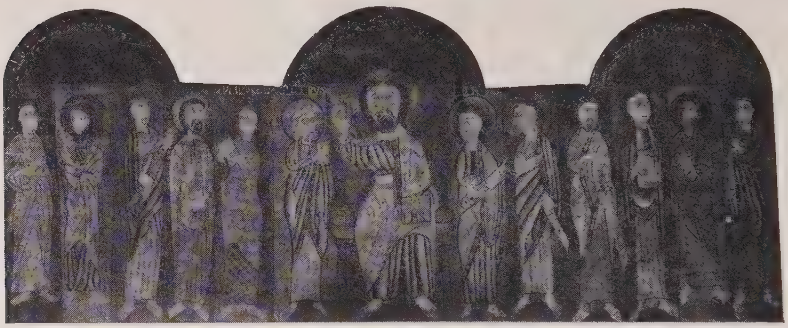

Fig. 80. RETABLE. AMATLLER COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Of painted ciboria or canopies over the altar, there remain from the Romanesque period, in the Plandiura Collection, four pieces that formed the anterior and posterior arches of an example at Tosas (south of Puigcerdá). The two spandrels of the anterior arch display Daniel (Fig. 81) and Jeremiah, holding identifying scrolls; the rectangular frame is embellished with medallions of heraldic lions, which in the upper rim are em-

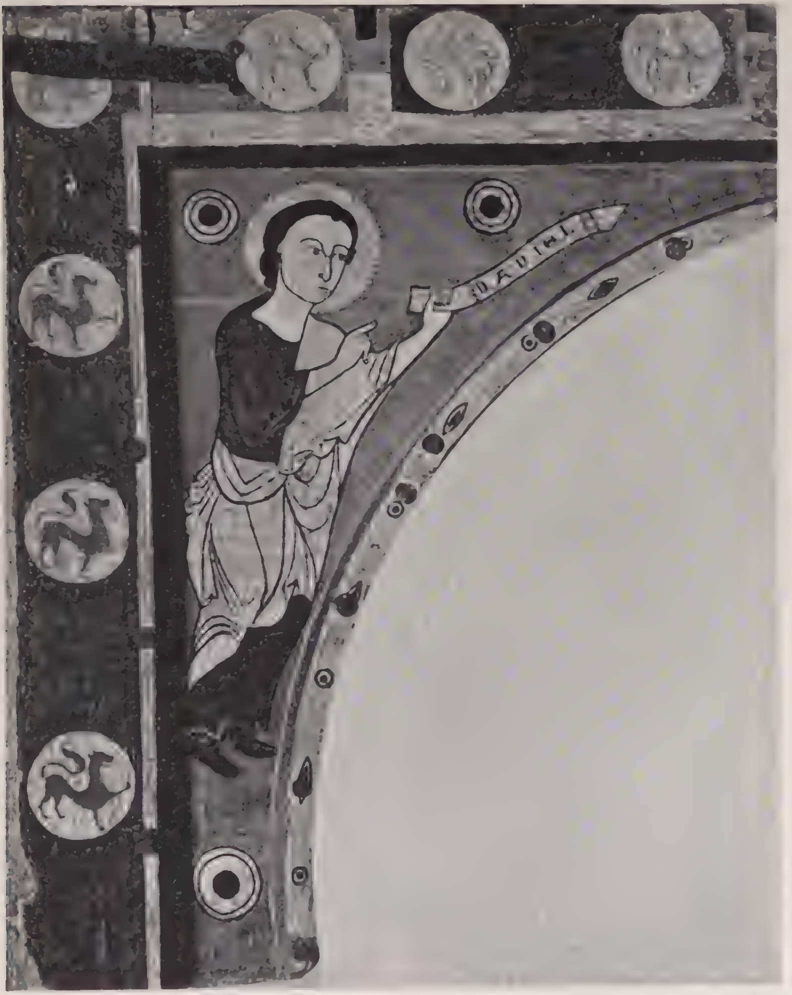

Fig. 81. SECTION OF CIBORIUM. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

bossed. The spandrels of the posterior arch present the most captivating array of the favorite Romanesque *motif* of animals and monsters with which Spanish painting of the period can

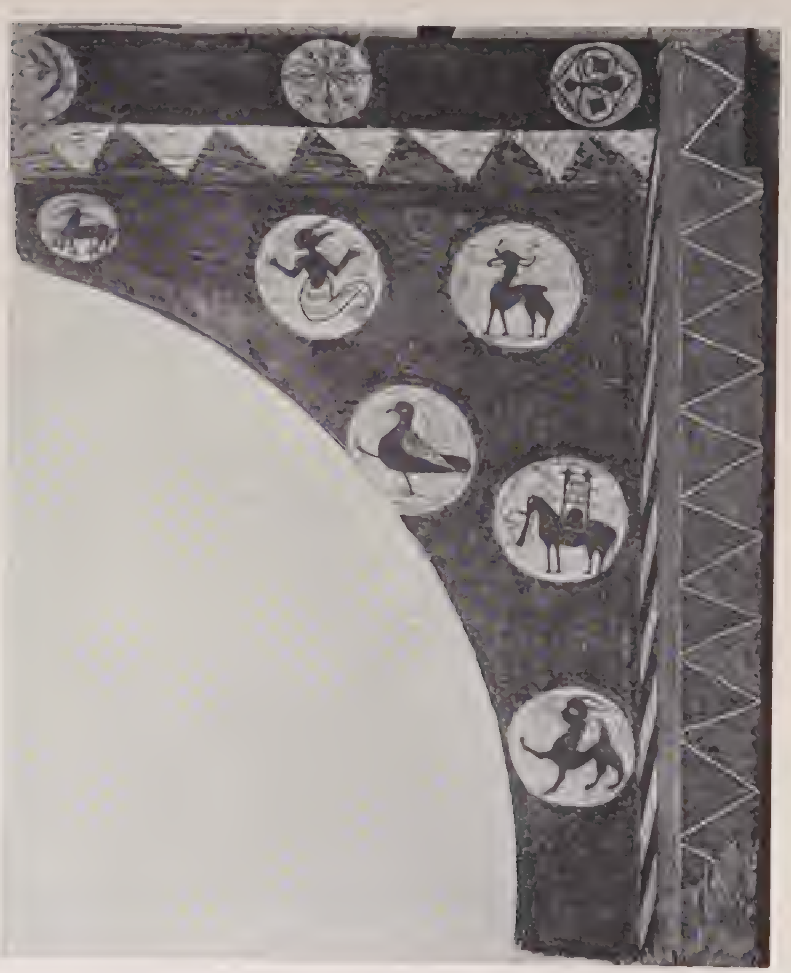

Fig. 82. SECTION OF CIBORIUM. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

provide us, here charmingly, though simply, drawn and consigned to yellow medallions disposed in an orderly arrangement. The menagerie comprises a toad, a lizard, two goats, a stag, a large dove, a ram (?), an elephant with a howdah (Fig. 82) (witnessing, as in S. Baudelio de Berlanga, to some kind of contact with the Orient), a two-headed eagle, a mermaid, a siren (?), and a bird with four dragon-heads. The frame of this posterior arch is largely decorated with zigzags, stripes, and scrolls, but the upper rim has medallions that look as if they were suggested by snow-crystals. The figure-painting in the two Prophets, not only in the case of the draperies but also in the curious mannerisms for delineating the features of the countenance, brings the canopy into connection with the workshop that produced the Encamp and Feneras frontals; and the date must fall within the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Particularly significant is the continuation of the lines of the eyebrows down into the lines of the nose in such a way as to give the effect of a bulging callus between the eyes. As in the Encamp and Feneras antependia the old-fashioned red and yellow tonality still persists.

To this same monument, the Tosas ciborium, is said[1] to belong a beam now attached in the Museum of Vich to the first of the board-canopies that will immediately concern us. The themes are much the same, medallions of beasts and Romanesque monsters, including a centaur and another mermaid, and there are two human figures, one of which is a warrior with drawn sword and shield; but, were it not that the relationship between the two works seems to be an established fact, the style of the Vich piece would have appeared too proficient and advanced to have made the connection possible. The panel of the Last Supper that now surmounts the board-canopy and beam in the Museum is a part of neither monument but a creation of a somewhat later day.

The two side-pieces of the altar of Tosas, now in the Rómulo Bosch Collection at Barcelona, were more certainly manufactured subsequently to the ciborium, and, like their virtual doubles in the Museum of Vich, will therefore be considered under the heading of Gothic. Since, however, the line of demarcation between late Romanesque and early Gothic is but very slight and since it is a ticklish business to distinguish stylistic variations at a time when all manners are so much alike, it is possible that all these objects of ecclesiastical furniture from Tosas were products of the same workshop, that in the sidepieces of the altar the craftsman or craftsmen inclined for the moment more to the Gothic, and that the ciborium, as belonging to the Tosas group, should rather have been classified in the Gothic period, though still maintaining strong Romanesque reminiscences.

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[1] I owe this information to Professor Cook, who has as his authority for the connection between the beam and the ciborium the distinguished director of the Vich Museum, Gudiol.

The Museum at Vich contains two examples, which may be assigned to the Romanesque period, of the painted sloping boards that were a substitute for the canopies. One of them is only a fragment (from Ribas, near Ripoll) preserving the upper part of the Pantocrator (the regular theme for the under-surface either of a complete or a board-canopy) in a mandorla flanked by three angels (Fig. 83); but it is perhaps the greatest, as a work of art, of the group of panels classified together by Professor Cook as more tangibly influenced by the sculpture of Languedoc and by Romanesque frescoes in general. Its analogies to the Espona antependium of this group and its probable date in the middle of the twelfth century have already been noted. Its more monumental function over the altar, as compared with the frontals, is no doubt partly responsible for its closer approximation, in majesty and in broader conception and execution, to the mural paintings and to the carved tympana. Yet even so, the technique remains somewhat more perspicuous than that of the frescoists. This panel also constitutes one of the instances in which the red patch on the cheek is conventionalized into a triangle.

In the other altar-covering at Vich, which is intact and depicts the Pantocrator in a mandorla surrounded by the Evangelistic symbols (Fig. 84), the figuration of the throne with Gothic windows betrays the fact that the thirteenth century was well advanced or that the fourteenth century had already begun; and the types of the Saviour and of St. Matthew's angel and their draperies also accord with the new fashions. The vibration of vivid red and yellow is likewise renounced for a soberer and richer tonality. A certain Romanesque stylization, however, remains in the lower folds of Christ's mantle; the other signs of the Evangelists retain a primitive rudeness; and the

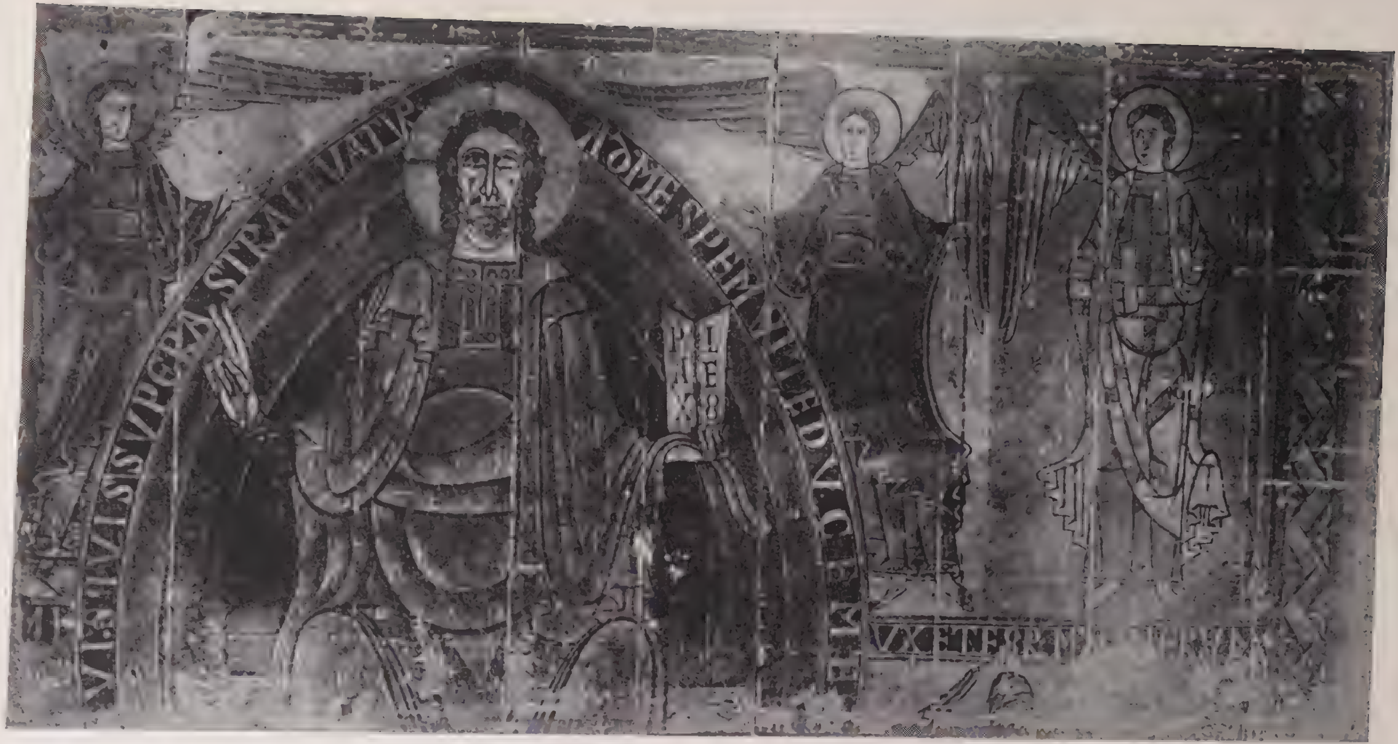

Fig. 83. BOARD CANOPY. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

whole composition follows the old tradition and is conceived with Romanesque formality. The panel has an iconographic interest in that the Pantocrator, as in the frescoes of S. Pedro de Arlanza, is accompanied by the sun and moon, here represented only as countenances on the faces of the orbs.

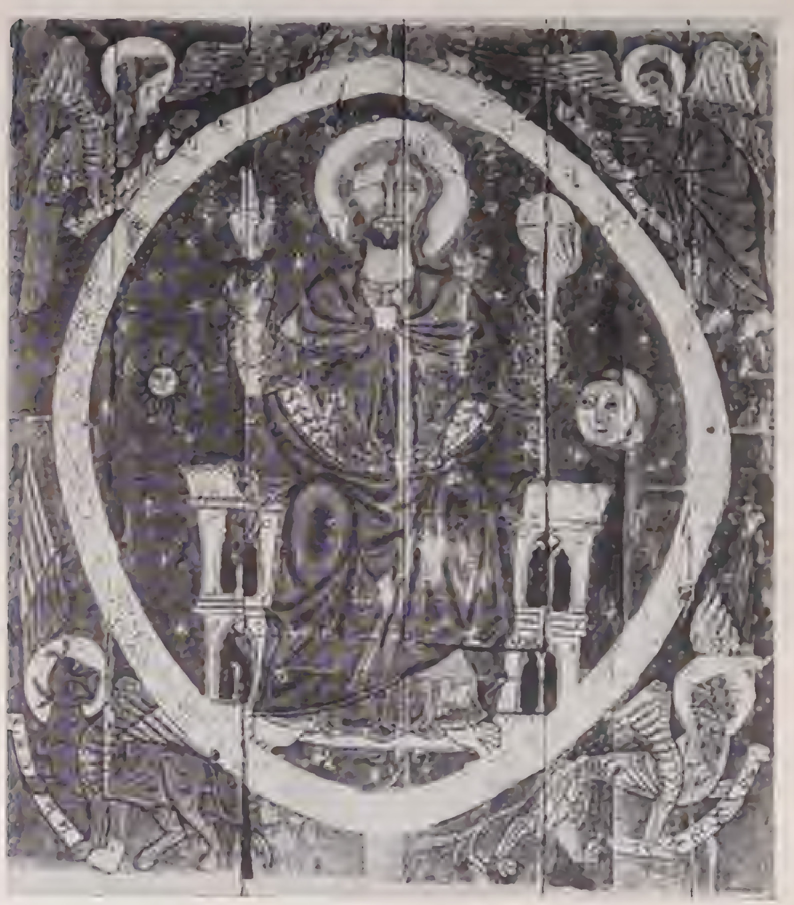

Fig. 84. BOARD CANOPY. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

The specimen of these sloping boards from Tost (south of La Seo de Urgel), now in the Plandiura Collection, may be mentioned here, because, although it has almost entirely accepted the Gothic innovations, it is at least related, like the fragments of the ciborium from Tosas, to the manner of the atelier of the Encamp and Feneras antependia. Divided into spaces like those of the side-pieces from Os de Tremp, it presents in the central circle the Pantocrator and in the spandrels the Evangelistic symbols. Despite the fact that it could not have been executed before 1250 and that it is the latest of the panels produced by or connected with the atelier and despite the fact that the countenances are not marked by all the peculiarities of those usually painted by the shop, yet the analogies are too numerous not to be convincing — the general, very decided emphasis upon line, the details, disposition, and treatment of the Pantocrator's drapery, His seat and the cushions for His body and feet, and the very close similarities in the delineation of the Evangelistic symbols. One of the most advanced and thoroughly Gothic elements is the face of the Saviour.

10. The Astorga Chest

If the remains of Romanesque panel painting in western Spain are exiguous, they have at least the distinction of including a unique object, a large polychrome chest that is at present kept by the bishop in the Seminario of Astorga but belonged formerly to one of the churches of the diocese. The front of the box itself apes the adornment of an antependium, displaying at the centre the Pantocrator in the midst of the Evangelistic symbols and ranged at either side of Him, under sculptured round arches, the twelve Apostles. Much more significant is the elaborate embellishment of the forepart of the lid, for upon it the life of Christ is unfolded at length in three zones, and the Romanesque iconography is of the greatest interest. To the topmost zone are consigned the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Proclamation to the Shepherds, and the Epiphany. The space between the Visitation and the Nativity is occupied by two seated figures, one of whom is an unhaloed woman and the other of whom is so far hidden by an iron clamp as to be unrecognizable. Whether they represent some scene from the apocryphal gospels or are merely subsidiary actors in the Visitation or Nativity, I find it hard to determine. The second row contains the Purification, Baptism, Temptation (with Satan offering Our Lord three worlds), the Raising of Lazarus, and the Entry into Jerusalem; the lowest tier, the Last Supper, Betrayal, Crucifixion, and Resurrection. The style embodies a belated and somewhat rude survival of the Romanesque manner, and, although there is as yet no trace of a knowledge of the newly arisen Gothic, the date cannot be earlier than the thirteenth or even first years of the fourteenth century. I am familiar with no other large Romanesque chest painted with scenes and figures, but the parish church of Fitero in Navarre possesses two small boxes, one still Romanesque and the other Franco-Gothic, which are thus decorated (both now to be seen in the Exposition at Barcelona, Nos. 262 and 261). The Romanesque specimen, too countrified in execution for dating, resorts for themes to an angel at either end of the lower part and to the Evangelistic signs on the lid.

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